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A HISTORY OF THE VENERABLE ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME

THE FRONT OF THE COLLEGE

[*To face p.* 231.

A HISTORY OF THE VENERABLE ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND WORK
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO
THE PRESENT DAY

BY

CARDINAL GASQUET

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO THE

ALUMNI OF THE

VENERABLE ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME

PAST AND PRESENT

THIS HISTORY OF THEIR ALMA MATER

IS DEDICATED BY

A. CARDINAL GASQUET

PREFACE

THIS volume must not be taken as furnishing a full and complete history of the Venerable English College in Rome. The material which exists is so abundant and the names of those who, in one way or another, have been connected with the Establishment from the earliest period of the old English Hospice are so numerous and distinguished—many of them, indeed, illustrious—that to do adequate justice to the story a work of much greater length would be required. I have, however, tried to set down what I conceive to be the main features of the history, as I could gather them from a rapid survey of the material existing in the Archives of the *Venerabile* and elsewhere. My immediate purpose was to prepare a record for the celebration of the centenary of the re-opening of the College in 1818. Circumstances arising out of the Great " World-War " made the celebration impossible at the time, and these pages are now published in the hope that, until something better is given to the public by one who can devote more time to the work than I have been able to do, they may serve to awaken or keep alive the memory of the history of what I believe to be one of the most interesting—if, indeed, not the most interesting—of the English Institutions on the continent of Europe.

Fortunately, when the College was seized and pillaged by the French at the close of the eighteenth century, when the Republican troops took possession of Rome, a faithful friend was able to carry away and hide the archives. On the restoration of the College in 1818 these valuable papers were all returned to the authorities. Among the documents thus happily preserved are several hundred original Papal Bulls and parchment deeds, which go back to the very beginning of the English Pilgrims' Hostel in the fourteenth

century. During the period between the establishment of the present College, on the site of the old Hospice, by Pope Gregory XIII and the close of the eighteenth century, these muniments were well cared for; and at one time, about the close of the eighteenth century, a carefully planned and well written Index of the entire contents of the College Archivium was made in six large volumes, which still exist.

The early account books of the old Pilgrim Hospice of St. Thomas and those of the sister Establishment of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, in the Trastevere, subsequently merged into that of St. Thomas, are naturally full of archæological interest. A complete set of books, covering the whole period of the existence of the college from its foundation to its destruction by the French, are still preserved on the shelves in the Archives room, where also may be found a long series of registers in which are recorded various business transactions in regard to the administration of the College property. All these would furnish many items of considerable interest and would repay careful examination.

Besides these, more or less official volumes, there exists a large collection of original letters dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, and a number of important MS. books and tracts, some of them connected with the College or written by authors who were members of the Establishment at the time. For example, what would appear to be the original copy of Harpsfield's *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica* is amongst the treasures in this collection, and two other volumes are of special interest and importance; namely, the *College Diary* and the *Pilgrim Book*. The former records the names and gives details of the students of the College, many of whom gave their lives for the Faith during the years when the Catholic religion was proscribed in England. This has been printed and edited, although not very carefully, by Brother Foley in his volume of *Records of the English Province S.J.*, which deals with the English College at Rome. I have not hesitated to make use of his labours, and hereby acknowledge my great indebtedness to him for all that concerns the students. Also this diligent labourer has edited in the same volume the second book to which I refer—the *Pilgrim Book*. In this are registered

the names of the English Visitors, who came to Rome and naturally to the English College during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Besides, once for all acknowledging my indebtedness to the late Brother Foley, S.J., I desire to express my thanks for the help given me by Mgr. Mann, the Rector of the Bede College in Rome, who not only read through the MS. and suggested corrections and additions, but also has furnished me with the story of the *Schola Anglorum* in Rome, which forms the first chapter of this volume. Mr. Short of the English College has helped me very much in the illustrations of this volume, and I desire to express to him my thanks, as well as to Dr. Ashby and Mrs. Strong of the British School in Rome, from whom I had received much help and encouragement. Lastly, I am greatly indebted to the Lord Bishop of Clifton, who has read the proof sheets and suggested several additions and corrections.

A. Card. Gasquet

Rome,
Palazzo di S. Calisto in Trastevere.
June 1919.

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THE ENGLISH COLLEGE IN ROME

CHAPTER I

THE SCHOLA ANGLORUM

When an Englishman, especially if he be a student of the *Venerable College of the English in Rome*, who has the least interest in the fortunes of his fellow-countrymen in the Eternal City, has learnt that the scholastic home of many of them is the heir of a mediæval hospice, he must naturally wish to know something of the institution from which this College has sprung.[1] A little investigation will reveal to him that the said hospice was founded in the fourteenth century in order to minister to the wants of English visitors and pilgrims to the religious centre of the world. Should he push his enquiries a little further, he will find that this hospice of St. Thomas had itself been instituted to replace a former one which had been erected some six centuries before to serve the same purpose. Filled then perchance with laudable pride that an existing English institution in Rome should be so closely connected with so large a portion of the religious history of his race, he may wish to learn if anything is known of this earlier hospice, the foundation of which would thus seem to date from the first days of the conversion of his countrymen. It is to satisfy such an enquirer that this chapter has been written.

It was, as is well known, at the very close of the sixth century that Pope Gregory the Great sent from the monastery of St. Andrew, which he had founded on the Cœlian hill, the Benedictine abbot St. Augustine with a number of monks to convert the Angles and Saxons of England.

[1] A large portion of this chapter appeared in the *Tablet* of Oct. 1913, and is used here with its kind permission.

The labours of these apostles, helped in turn by other missionaries from Rome, from Gaul, and from the little isle of Iona, were most successful. Before the lapse of a century the fierce Anglo-Saxons who had exterminated the faith of Christ in Roman Britain had themselves accepted it. Like the Franks, they bowed before what they had previously burnt. But long before the conversion of the whole of England, the stream of pilgrims and visitors from it to Rome had begun to flow.

There was one city in the world at least that was known by every barbarian in Europe. The might of Rome had impressed itself indelibly upon them. But its name for many ages inspired them for the most part with only a feeling of hatred for its oppressions. They longed to destroy it, and they succeeded but too well in wrecking its material power. Gradually, however, they found that the City whose marvellous might they had brought to naught, was putting forth a spiritual power which they could not resist. Again, then, the wish came upon them to make Rome their goal. But now it was the wish of their hearts to pray where they had scoffed, to bring back their gold, frankincense and myrrh to the City from which they had plundered so much.

It is impossible to say who were the first of our Christian countrymen who first made their way to Rome to pray at the shrines of the Apostles, to do homage to the successor of the great Pontiff who had sent apostles to convert them, and, no doubt, to look upon the famous City which they had been taught first to hate and afterwards to love. If, however, we are prepared to accept the words of Eddi, the enthusiastic biographer of St. Wilfrid of Hexham, it was that ardent soul who was the first Christian Englishman to make the "Rome journey." Possibly he was the first distinguished Englishman who went to Rome. His first visit was as early as the middle of the seventh century (*c.* 654). Although later on he betook himself to the Eternal City to obtain from the Pope that ecclesiastical justice which he could not secure in his own land, we may be sure that in his first visit to Rome, he was influenced by other motives than the search after justice. He may then be usefully thought of as the first English pilgrim to Rome.

At any rate, we know that the example set by him of visiting Rome was certainly followed; and, long before even the seventh century had run its course, every class of English society sent many of its members to Rome. Thither went on pilgrimage, says Venerable Bede, "noble and simple, men and women, soldiers and private persons, moved by the instinct of divine love";[1] or, as St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, expresses it, English people "left their country's shores, and trusted themselves to the ways of the sea, and sought the shrines of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul."[2]

Many, however, went to Rome not merely as pilgrims. Some, as for instance St. Wilfrid himself, went to the Eternal City to carry canonical appeals to the Pope or to learn the ecclesiastical discipline of Rome. Many, too, went for purposes of study,[3] to learn music, or to gain an insight into other branches of art. For we must never lose sight of the fact that the arts were cultivated at Rome throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, and that, too, even during its darkest days in the tenth century. Even the art of painting did not, as is still believed by some, owe its glorious renaissance in the fourteenth century to Florence. That fortunate city received its artistic inspiration from Rome, from Pietro Cavallini.[4] Our countrymen, then, often went to Rome in the Middle Ages to study art; they went there also to buy books,[5] to purchase articles of *virtu*,[6] and to procure workers in wood, stone and glass.[7] They went there, in short, for *humanitas* in the fullest sense of that comprehensive word. Of the *humanitas* which men found in Rome we have some striking examples. In the days of Pope Leo IX there went to Rome Thorfinn, Earl of the

[1] *De sex ætat.*, 720; *Hist. Eccles.*, v. 7.

[2] Ep. 14 of St. Boniface ap. Mon. Germ., Epp. III.

[3] Bede, v. 19; *Vitæ Abbat.*, nn. 2, 18.

[4] See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Paintings*, i. p. 53 n.

[5] Bede, *Vitæ*, nn. 4, 11.

[6] The famous Henry, Bp. of Winchester, brother of King Stephen "veteres statuas emit Rome." John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pontif.*, 39 ap. M., S.SS., xx. Cf. *vit. S. Abbo.*, c. 11, ap. P.L., t. 139.

[7] *Vitæ*, nn. 6, 9. Our Henry III brought artists of "Cosimati" work to decorate Westminster Abbey. The cornice of the Confessor's tomb displays (1279): "Petrus, Civis Romanus" and its basement "Odericus Romanus." Lethaby, *Medieval Art*, pp. 259, 282 f.

Orkneys, who did not get his title of the "raven-feeder" without terrible cause. After his visit to Rome and his interview with the Pope, this ferocious sea-king on his return home "sat down quietly, and kept peace over all his realm. Then he left off warfare, and turned his mind to ruling the people and the land, and to law-giving." Our great King Canute himself put on record in his famous letter to the English people what a civilising effect the "humanity" of Rome had had upon him. The still greater Charlemagne effected his gigantic work for the uplifting of his enormous empire through his contact with Rome.

For this *humanitas* our countrymen sought Rome, in spite of the serious dangers and difficulties that nearly always beset the journey thither. At one time it was the *Langobardorum immanitas* that had to be feared. Later on in the tenth century it was the savage Saracen. More than once will be found in the Chronicler Frodoard entries like the following: In the year 923 "a great number of English, on their way to the threshold of the Apostles for the sake of prayer, were slain by the Saracens in the Alps." Still later, especially after the reforms inaugurated by Hildebrand (Gregory VII) in the eleventh century, the dissensions between the Papacy and the Empire brought great dangers to the pilgrim. The Emperors set up antipopes, and their followers showed little mercy to the unhappy traveller whom they caught making his way to Rome or to the true Pope. One of our old chroniclers [1] has left us an amusing account of a journey [2] to Italy of the monk Sampson of Bury St. Edmunds during the time of the antipopes set up by the Emperor Frederic I, Barbarossa, against Alexander III (*c.* 1160).

Owing to the perpetual strife throughout the Middle Ages between ourselves and our neighbours, the Scots, it was the rule that, if there was any schism in the Church, and the English acknowledged one Pope, the Scotch acknowledged his rival. At the time of which we are treating, the English acknowledged Alexander III. Accordingly, Sampson, who had to pass through parts of Italy in the hands of the antipope in order to reach Alexander, feigned to be a

[1] Jocelin of Brakelond. Cf. p. 14. [2] A.D. 1159–1162.

Scotchman, for he was in danger, says the chronicler, "of being hanged or incarcerated, or of having his nose and lips cut off, and of being in that condition sent to Pope Alexander for his shame and confusion." When questioned, he talked gibberish in a kind of English, brandished his staff as the Scotch did their gavelocs or pikes, and also, after their manner, so we are told, used threatening language. By these devices he reached Rome, and procured from Alexander the written privileges of which he was in quest. With these he set out on his return journey rejoicing. But, so he told the story himself, he was seized by the officers of a certain castle, who declared that he was either a spy or was bearing letters from the false Pope Alexander. "But," continues Sampson, "whilst they were searching my ragged clothes, my leggings and breeches, and even the old shoes which I carried over my shoulders after the manner of the Scotch, I thrust my hand into the little wallet which I carried, wherein was contained the writing of our Lord the Pope, which was close by a little jug which I used for drinking purposes. Then, the Lord God and St. Edmund so permitting, I drew out the writing, together with the jug, and, extending my arm aloft, I held the writ underneath the jug. They could see the jug plain enough, but they did not notice the writ. But whatever money I had about me they took away, and so I had to beg from door to door till I arrived in England."

Almost as fatal to the pilgrim to Rome were the elements. Ice and snow waylaid the travellers over the Mons Jovis—the great pass of St. Bernard. A monk of Canterbury [1] has left us a vivid picture of the awe with which the peaks and precipices of the Alps inspired him, and he writes to tell his brethren in England how his ink which he carried in a little bottle at his girdle all froze solid, and how his very breath froze on his beard. Hence it is not surprising to read of one of our Archbishops of Canterbury, Elfsy, being

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, too, speaks feelingly of the precipices, snows and robbers of the Alps, and tells us that the people in the vale of Spoleto were astonished at his safe crossing of them. "Qui Alpes illas prædonibus et periculis plenas sic indemnis pertransivit." Op. vol. iii. p. 241, Rolls Series.

frozen to death in the Alps (*c.* 958) when on his way for his pallium.

The sea, too, when it did not drown the unfortunate traveller made him often dreadfully miserable. An English poem of the fifteenth century, published by the Early English Text [1] Society, gives a most graphic and humorous description of the horrors of a long sea voyage. For, as we shall again have occasion to note, many of our countrymen went the whole way to Rome by water. The poem tells how unfortunate pilgrims were pushed about by the sailors, who found, or pretended to find them in the way when they were working the ship, and who, with their usual contempt for land lubbers, took pleasure in bantering them when they were in the agonies of sea-sickness. The Captain cries :—

> Hale the bowe lyne ! Now, rere the shete !
> Cooke, make redy anoon our mete,
> Our pylgryms have no lust to ete.
> I pray God give them rest.

The sailors, too, make them more miserable by suggesting an approaching storm :—

> Then cometh oone and seyth : Be mery
> Ye shall have a storm or a pery (squall).

Nevertheless, despite these and many other difficulties and dangers,[2] our countrymen not only went to Rome in large numbers during the Middle Ages, but went there over and over again. Benedict Biscop, the energetic abbot of St. Peter's at Monkwearmouth, who did so much to illumine our north country, went to Rome no less than five times. In a word, so regular was the intercourse of our mediæval countrymen with Rome that our earliest national chronicler, in connection with the year 889, thought it worth recording that " there was *no* journey to Rome, except that King

[1] *The Stations of Rome*, p. 35 ff. The various difficulties of the Roman journey are summed up by Hildebert of Le Mans " in libro suo epistolari." " Nobis Romam profecturis tempus hyeme suspectum, nivibus Alpes, incrementis aquæ, vinculis imperator, seditionibus civitas, exactione palatium (Lateran). Sane omnia hæc orationibus evacuari posse credimus, solam vero exactionem nec oratione nec jejunio temperari." Quoted by Giraldus Camb., *Speculum Eccles.*, iv. 18, Op. iv. p. 301.

[2] Cf. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, p. 257.

Alfred sent two couriers with letters." [1] Unfortunately, however, even though, as Bede says, it was thought "a thing of great virtue to go to Rome," [2] not all who left England for Rome got virtue of any kind from the journey. Sometimes the pilgrims were only dishonest traders who assumed the dress of the palmer, in order to escape paying the tolls which were gradually relaxed in favour of the *bona fide* pilgrim.[3] A much worse evil was the number of women, both nuns and others, who got themselves into disgrace when abroad through want of money or proper protection, not to say through any evil inclinations of their own. So serious was this evil that our countryman, St. Boniface, the famous apostle of Germany, when writing to the authorities at home, stated that there was scarcely a city in Lombardy, Frankland (Francia) or Gaul in which there was not an Englishwoman leading a notoriously bad life! [4]

Fortunately, from the very earliest times, among those who took a keen interest in the "Rome journey" were the Anglo-Saxon rulers themselves, and they proved both able and willing to supply some remedy for these evils. The first of our Kings who made up his mind to go to Rome was Oswin, our great Northumbrian sovereign.[5] Death, however (670), prevented him from carrying out his intention.[6] But the first English King actually to go to Rome was Cædwalla, King of the West Saxons, who died there, as he had wished, immediately after his baptism (689). His epitaph, now lost, was to be seen for many centuries in the portico of old St. Peter's and was not unfrequently copied by the more curious pilgrims. It was composed by Benedict, the contemporary Archbishop of Milan. Buried in some way along with the tomb (*arca*) on which it was cut, it was recently, says John de Deis, dug up by those who were building the present St. Peter's.[7] Coinred, King of the Mercians, and Offa, the heir to the throne of the East Saxons, went

[1] *Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, 889.
[2] *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 14.
[3] Ep. Charlemagne, 11, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Carol.*, p. 357.
[4] Ep., ap. M., *G. Epp.*, iii. 78 (middle of eighth century).
[5] Bede, iv. 5.
[6] *Ib.* v. 7.
[7] *Successores S. Barnabæ Ap.*, f. 23, Rome, 1589, ap. De Rossi, *Inscript. Christianæ*, II. pt. i. p. 70, n. 40.

together, not many years after; and both, according to the phrase of Bede,[1] "became monks at the shrine of the apostles" (709), and both died in Rome. Others of our Princes followed their example.

Among these others was Ina, the successor of Cædwalla. When he had reigned over the West Saxons for thirty-seven years (688–725) he also resigned his kingdom, and to use the words of Bede, "went to Rome to visit the shrines of the blessed Apostles . . . being desirous to spend some time of his pilgrimage upon earth in the neighbourhood of holy places, that he might be more easily received by the saints into heaven."

This visit of Ina proved of lasting importance, for he founded the Schola Anglorum. At least, such is the assertion of Matthew Paris. It is true he is only a late authority, but nothing can be urged against the substantial accuracy of his statements, and as will be apparent later on, the author on whom Paris is here resting, was alive at a time when special attention had been called in England to the Schola by vain appeals made to it to save their national centre in Rome from ruin. Moreover, contemporary evidence of the early ninth century proves that the Schola Anglorum was certainly in existence in the eighth century. What then is the precise testimony of Matthew Paris? These are his words: "When Ina arrived in Rome he built a house, with the approval of Pope Gregory (II), which he called the School of the English (Scholam Anglorum). This he did in order that the kings of England and the Royal family with the bishops and priests and clergy might come to it to be instructed in learning and in the Catholic faith, lest anything might be taught in the English Church which was heterodox (*sinistrum*) or opposed to Catholic unity. Thus they would return home thoroughly strengthened in the faith." "Moreover," continues the Monk of St. Albans, "Ina built near the aforesaid house a church in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary in which the divine mysteries

[1] V. 7. Cf. William of Malmesbury, *De Gest. reg.*, ii. c. 2, for Ina's sojourn in Rome, and the device by which his queen Ethelburga induced him to give up the luxuries of a throne. He, *ib.*, attributes the foundation of the *Schola Anglorum* to Offa, King of the Mercians.

might be celebrated for the English who came to Rome, and in which such of them as might die in Rome might be buried. Finally, in order that his work might be lasting, it was ordained by a decree of the Witan (*generali decreto*) that, throughout the whole kingdom of the West Saxons, every family should every year send to Blessed Peter and the Roman Church one *denarius* (or silver penny) (which is known in English as *Romescot*), in order that the English who resided there might have a means of support." [1] According, therefore, to Matthew Paris, or really according to John of the Cell (d. 1214) whom he is quoting, Ina founded in Rome a theological school in the modern sense of a school, a hospice and a church, and instituted Peter's Pence.

Now it is no doubt probable that there may be some exaggeration in these statements, and that Paris or John of the Cell may have attributed to Ina all the developments of the School which were in existence just before his own time, and which were really the work of several successive English rulers.[2] But there is no reasonable room for doubt that a substantial beginning of the Anglo-Saxon quarter in Rome was made by Ina himself.

Moreover, the story of Ina's connection with the English School receives some confirmation from Roman tradition. For to this day you will find in the Church of San Spirito in Sassia, which occupies the site of the Church of Our Lady in Sassia (S. Maria *in Sassia*, or *Schola Anglorum*), an ancient picture of our Lady which, according to Roman tradition, was given to the church by King Ina. The picture is, at any rate, declared to be of the seventh or eighth century, and a seventeenth century inscription on the wall of the church not far from the picture sets forth that the Canons of St. Peter dedicated a golden crown to it, as it had been preserved from the fires in the days of Pope Paschal I and of Pope Leo IV, and as it was famous by reason both of its

[1] "Vitale subsidium." Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, an. 727, i. 330 f. Rolls Series. On Ina's connection with Peter's Pence, see also the document "De Saxonum Adventu" inserted in Simeon of Durham, ii. 371, Rolls Series.

[2] 738, Queen Frithogith of the West Saxons retires to Rome. Henry of Huntingdon, I. iv. sub. an. 736, and Florence of Worcester, an. 737.

age and of the miracles worked in connection with it.[1] In the sacristy of this same church [2] there are a number of frescoes which show what was the tradition on the spot regarding the origin of the Schola Anglorum. One of these frescoes depicts the founding of the Schola by Gregory II and Ina in the year 725, and another shows Charlemagne and King Offa adding to it in 794. Whenever and by whomsoever the School of the English was founded, it was no doubt to some extent modelled on the older non-Germanic schola of the Greeks which was situated in the neighbourhood of S. Maria in Cosmedin, and its buildings were certainly erected in the classical Horti Agrippinæ which were situated to the south-east of the Circus of Nero below the Vatican Hill. The whole quarter, once familiar as the *palatium* of Nero, henceforth became the "Vicus Saxonum."

The next of our Kings whose name is connected by our historians with the Schola Anglorum is, as we have just seen, Offa II, King of Mercia, whom the same Matthew Paris calls the "great King who ruled over twenty-three provinces which the English call shires." [3] He was the founder of the famous monastery of St. Alban's, and went to Rome (793), as we learn again from Matthew Paris,[4] to get papal privileges for his new establishment. When he reached his destination he at once visited (*conterit*) the longed-for threshold of the Apostles, and with pious devotion hurried (*percurrit*) to the different shrines of the Saints. Then in gratitude for obtaining from the Pope all that he required, he gave the "Schola Anglorum which then flourished in Rome" a denarius (silver penny) from every family whose arable land (*pasena*) was worth over thirty denarii. "This he gave for the support of those of his kingdom who went to Rome." So much, indeed, was done by King Offa for the "English School" that by some of our historians who lived before Matthew Paris he is thought to have been the founder of

[1] Galletti, *Inscriptiones Romanæ*, p. xxi., n. 30; Rome, 1760.

[2] Cf. *infra* for fuller details about this interesting sacristy.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 360.

[4] Or whoever was the author of the earlier portion of the *Chron. Maj.*, quoting from the *Life* of Offa II, written probably by the author of that earlier portion, ap. *ib.*, p. 358 ff.

it.[1] We may here add that deposits of Anglo-Saxon coins which have been found in Rome from time to time prove that money was regularly sent out from England. According to Professor Lanciani three such deposits have been found in the City.[2] The first was discovered in 1843 walled up in the old belfry of St. Paul's-outside-the-Walls, the second at Tre Fontane in 1871, and the third on November 8, 1882, in the House of the Vestals in the Forum.[3]

To proceed with the history of the Schola. While a letter of Pope John VII (705–7) shows us that there were a considerable number of English clergy resident in Rome, the contemporary biographer of Pope Leo III (795–816) makes it plain that in the year 800 the English residents formed an organised community (*schola*) and that their example had in this respect been followed by other Teutonic peoples. In that year (800) the mighty King Charlemagne came to Rome, and, says the biographer in question, was welcomed, among others, " by all the schools (*scole*) of the foreigners, viz., by the Franks, Frisians, Saxons (or Angles) and Lombards."[4]

Except for the brief reign of Stephen (IV), Pope Leo III was succeeded by Paschal I (817–824), and his contemporary biography gives us, in language not in the least complimentary to our people, the next notice of their colony and quarter. " Through the slothfulness of certain people of the English race," begins the historian, " the whole of their quarter (*habitatio*), which in their language is called *Burg* (*burgus*), was burnt to the ground." Besides nearly all the portico on the colonnade which led from the bridge of St. Angelo to the basilica of St. Peter's was similarly destroyed. When word of the fire was brought to Paschal in the early hours of the morning (*noctis conticinium*), " through his love

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Hist.*, ii. 2. Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, i. p. 331, Rolls Series, says that " the avarice of the Romans had already deprived it of its revenues and ruined it, when Offa restored it." Matthew Paris is here, no doubt, anticipating certain events that happened later.

[2] *New Tales of Old Rome*, p. 268 ff.

[3] This last collection of coins may be seen in the Museo delle Terme.

[4] Vit. Leonis ap. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 6, 36. Cf. a mention of " alie nationes " with the Romans at the funeral of Paul I (767), ap. *ib.* i., 465.

of the Church of Blessed Peter the Apostle, and his distress for the misfortune of those foreigners," says the biographer, without waiting to dress himself completely, he mounted his horse and hurried to the spot barefoot. Animated no doubt by his arrival, those who were fighting the flames succeeded in extinguishing them. The compassionate Pontiff gave the unfortunate English not only money, food and raiment, but also wood to enable them to rebuild their houses. This took place in the year 817.[1] Some thirty years later fresh misfortunes fell upon the "Borough" or "Borgo" of the English. It was no doubt much damaged in the Saracen raid of 846, and in the next year, "in the very beginning of the pontificate of Sergius II," as his biographer tells us, fire again broke out in their quarter. It proved a very serious affair. It consumed the Lombard quarter, and sweeping along the portico threatened St. Peter's itself. Great crowds of people endeavoured in vain to stem the rush of the flames, which we are assured were stopped at length by the Pope's making the sign of the cross over them. For some years the damage done by this disastrous fire was not made good. But in 854 King Ethelwulf came to Rome with his son, "England's darling," Alfred, whom he had sent there in the previous year to be anointed King. He remained in the City a whole year with Alfred, and "at great expense," says the historian, repaired the "Schola Saxonum" which King Ina had founded.[2] King Alfred was now well known in Rome, and his striking career was naturally watched with interest. Because, says one of our quaint chronicles written in old French, he "accomplished and procured so much by his goodness"; Pope Marinus sent him some of the Cross on which Christ was slain, and did him so much honour with good gifts, and such relics "that he would never die by arms." As he was in such favour with this Pope, Alfred used his influence in behalf of his countrymen in Rome, and the same historian tells us that it was this Pope "who first enfranchised the

[1] So says the *Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, an. 817. Cf. *Lib. Pont.*, ii. 53 f.

[2] *Libe de Hyda*, p. 25, Rolls Series. Cf. Asser, nn. 8, 11, pp. 7, 9, ed. W. H. Stevenson, Oxford, 1904; and Ep. Leo IV, ap. *Mon. Germ.*, Epp. III. 602.

THE FIRE IN THE BORGO, IN WHICH THE SCHOLA ANGLORUM WAS DESTROYED
(Painted by Raffaele)

[*To face p.* 12.

English School by the procurement of King Alfred."[1] Another chronicle written more than a century later says that King Canute obtained from Pope John "that the schools of England should be free from all manner of obligations."[2] He no doubt completed in the matter of freedom of the Schola Anglorum from taxation and obligations of all kinds the work of King Alfred. At any rate at length, to use the words of the previously cited chronicle: "It was free, God be praised."

If, however, the English, as we have seen some reason to believe, were more careless than the Romans of the ninth century, they would appear to have been braver. In the raid of 846 just mentioned, the Saracens, who had begun to be the scourge of the Mediterranean, sailed with a large armament to the mouth of the Tiber and landed a considerable raiding party. At once a body of the foreigners in Rome, English, Frisians and Franks, marched to meet them. But unfortunately, after some slight successes, the foreign *schola* were surprised (it is to be hoped not again through the carelessness of the English) and cut to pieces, and all their quarters, which were then outside the walls of Rome, as well as the basilicas of SS. Peter and Paul, were sacked by the Saracens.

This disastrous raid was felt to be a disgrace and a menace to Europe, and Pope and Emperor combined to render the sacking of St. Peter's more difficult for the future. Pope Leo IV surrounded the Vatican with a wall, and thus made what from him came to be known as the Leonine City. This Pope had also the Schola Anglorum brought strongly before him. Not only had he, too, in the very beginning of his pontificate to assist in quenching a fire in the English quarter (a fire immortalised by Raphael in his "Incendio

[1] *Listoire des Engles*, lines 3323 ff., Rolls Series. This chronicle was written in the twelfth century not later than 1147. All this rests on the authority of Alfred's contemporary biographer, Asser, who says: "Qui (Pope Marinus) Scholam Saxonum in Roma morantium pro amore et deprecatione Ælfredi Angulsaxonum regis, ab omni tributo et telonio benigne liberavit. Qui etiam multa dona dedit prædicto regi." Among these gifts, Asser mentions "a no small portion of the true Cross." N. 71 p. 53, ed. Stevenson.

[2] "E purchaca . . . *ke* les escoles de Engletere fussent franches de tute manere demande." *Le livere de Reis de Engletere*, p. 108, Rolls Series.

del Borgo " in the Vatican), but, from the fact that one of the three gates of his new City was in their quarter, he called it from their language the " Postern Gate of the Saxons," [1] and gave the English and the other foreigners (*diversis nationibus*) splendid presents when his City was finished. The same Pope (Leo IV) is also said by his biographer to have wholly rebuilt the primitive Church of our Lady of the English quarter.[2] Subsequent repairs and alterations of the church are by some authors attributed to Innocent III and Sixtus IV. Paul III with the aid of Sangallo is said to have rebuilt it, and Mascherino to have added the existing façade for Sixtus V in the first year of his glorious reign. That Sixtus caused the façade to be built seems clear, for it bears, if not his arms, what may perhaps be styled his crest (*grande stemma*), a dove amid rays.

There is just one more item of ninth century history to which attention may be called. As that century neared its conclusion the Danes began to make terrible inroads into our country, and among those who left it in despair was Burhed, King of Mercia. He retired to Rome, died there, and, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, " his body lies in St. Mary's Church at the English school " (874).

Contemporary ninth century evidence, then, puts before us near St. Peter's a regular quarter supplied with a church, and inhabited by our countrymen in such numbers as to be able to furnish a quota of militia. It prepares us to accept the assertions of Matthew Paris, as do also the well ascertained facts that Peter's Pence was instituted during this century either by Ethelwulf [3] or by his son Alfred the Great,[4] and that that national offering was divided between the Pope and the Schola Anglorum.[5]

Just, then, as in England our countrymen built a Peter's

[1] *Lib. Pont.*, in vit. Leo : " Posterulam aliam que respicit ad Scolam Saxonum, que, ex eorum vocabulo, ' Saxonum posterula ' appellatur."

[2] *Lib. Pont.*, ii. 128 : " A fundamentis supra scholam Saxonum noviter construxit." Above ground the present Church of San Spir. in S. shows no trace of either Ina's or Leo's building.

[3] So says William of Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, I. ii. 109 (cf. 113), ap. P.L., t. 179.

[4] Cf. his coins found in Rome.

[5] Cf. Ep. of Alexander II. (1061–1073), ap. Jaffé, 4757 (3524).

town or burg, *i. e.* Peterborough, so in Rome they built a Saxon burg, which became known to the Romans as the *Burgus*, or as Saxia or Sassia,[1] and they built it by the river for the benefit of their countrymen who came by sea. And moreover, as King John speaks of our hospice as near the street (*secus stratam*), it would appear that the English quarter occupied half the width of that part of the Leonine city where it was situated, and that it was the largest of the *scholæ* of the foreigners.

The example of the English was, as we have said, rapidly followed, and soon, south of the colonnade which linked the bridge of St. Angelo with St. Peter's, there were three other *scholæ*, viz. those of the Franks,[2] Lombards and Frisians traces of some of which exist to this day. The Schola Francorum was grouped round the Church of San Salvatore, called later on San Salvatore in Macello, or de Torrione, or de Assibus. This church may still be seen among the buildings of the Holy Office. It was in the cemetery of the Schola Francorum that all the foreign pilgrims had to be buried until the English obtained the privilege of burying their dead in their own quarter. This cemetery still exists, and is still used as a burying place for strangers. In the Church of St. Michael in the Borgo, we see the centre of the Schola Frisonum;[3] but the Church of St. Justin, which was the place of worship for the Schola of the Lombards, was unfortunately destroyed in that most vandal of centuries the sixteenth.

Later on, before the Middle Ages had run their course, the Hungarians, Armenians, Abyssinians and Copts had also their quarters in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's; and to this day traces of some of these peoples are still to be seen near the basilica.[4]

[1] And so the *Graphia aureæ urbis Romæ* speaks of the bridge, "Neronanius ad Sassiam," ap. Urlichs, *Codex Urb. Rom.*, p. 118. Cf. p. 158. Cf. *infra* for the King's letter.

[2] Cf. De Waal, *La Schola Francorum*, p. 6.

[3] Cf. "Le antiche memorie dei Frisoni in Roma," by P. J. Block, ap. *Bollettino d. Commis. archæol. Comunale*, vol. xxxiv., 1906, p. 40 ff. The Church was sometimes called "in Sassia," "in Palatiolo," "in Monte," and "ad Porticum."

[4] De Waal, *I luoghi pii sul territ. Vatic.*, pp. 20–23, Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, pp. 768, 750–54.

The pilgrimages of our countrymen to Rome continued during the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh; *i. e.* during Rome's "dark days" when the city was a battlefield of factions, and when its ancient monuments were turned into fortresses, whence robber nobles issued to attack the defenceless, or to which they retired to escape the hands of justice. Among the curious documents which have escaped the moth and the thief for a thousand years is a brief Itinerary of a journey made in the midst of this black period by Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury (July 990). It was first printed by Bishop Stubbs.[1] Presuming that the Archbishop went to Rome by the same route by which he returned from it, his Itinerary enables us to say that he went from Dover to Witsand,[2] and by Guisnes and Terouanne to Arras and Laon, through Champagne and Burgundy to Pontarlier, and then by Lausanne to St. Maurice. As usual, he crossed the Alps by the Great St. Bernard Pass, beginning his ascent from Martigny on the Rhone, and ascending the course of the Drance by Orsières to Bourg St. Pierre. Here the sight of a Roman milestone would remind him, as it does the traveller of to-day, that this was the pass by which the Roman traders and soldiers made their way into Gaul. Here, too, he would be told of the cruelties which the Saracens of Fraxineto used to inflict on the pilgrims as they crossed the pass, for when a few years after this Hugh Bishop of Geneva (1019–38, or *c.* 990–*c.* 1030 Gams) built a church (since reconstructed) at Bourg St. Pierre, an inscription was set up recording not merely the original building of the church, but also the doings of the Saracens.[3]

If by the year of Sigeric's journey the Hospice, which in the ninth century used to be at St. Pierre, had been removed, he will have found it at the crest of the pass,

[1] In his *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. iv., 391, Rolls Series.

[2] He would take between six or seven weeks over his journey. Guisnes is in the Pas de Calis. Wissant or Witsand was the Portus Itius (or Iccius) of the Romans, and lay between Calais and Boulogne. Till the taking of Calais in 1347, our vessels used to sail to Witsand.

[3] It now forms the doorstep of the present church, and is nearly effaced. J. Ball, *The Western Alps*, p. 429. London, 1898.

where now stands the famous Hospice first built by St. Bernard of Menthon in the eleventh century.

He was certainly cheered and refreshed at the Hospice, even if he had been a little disappointed at the comparatively dull nature of the scenery through which he had passed whilst making his ascent. Perhaps the sight of the remains of the temple of Jupiter Penninus [1] may have called to his mind that the Pass had taken its name from this temple (Mons Jovis). At any rate, he descended the mountain by the side of the Buthier,[2] and soon reached the charming town of Aosta. Then he journeyed through Piedmont by Ivrea, and traversed the Lombard Plain by Vercelli and Piacenza. Then, crossing the Apennines by Pontremoli, he struck Spezzia, and keeping comparatively near the coast, he passed Lucca and San Gimignano, and turned inland towards Siena. At Acqua-Pendente he entered the Patrimony of St. Peter, and then skirting the lake of Bolsena, he touched Viterbo and Sutri. From Sutri on the Via Cassia he made for Baccano, which is close to the old station of " Ad Baccanas." From this station (*mutatio*), which was reckoned at twenty-one Roman miles from the Eternal City, he rode on towards the Ponte Molle (Pons Milvius), and thus reached his last station. According to the Itinerary, this last halting place,[3] where we may presume Sigeric spent the last night of his outward journey, is set down as " of John IX, Johannis noni (VIIII)," which no doubt was the " burgus " and parish " S. Joannis in Nono," that is, the hamlet and parish of St. John at the ninth milestone in the neighbourhood of Veii.[4] When Rome could be seen the eager pilgrim would behold St. Peter's, not as now with its dome swelling up above the rolling Campagna like a graceful hill, but nevertheless a glorious basilica over 300 feet long and 200 feet broad. Our Archbishop, rising

[1] Now the only remains are cuttings for the foundation of the temple (cf. *Not. Scavi*, Milan, 1894, p. 33). It is interesting to note that in making the road on the Swiss side some English coins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were found. They were no doubt the property of some Englishman who perished there (*ibid.*, p. 35, n. 2).

[2] A tributary of the Dora Baltea.

[3] The Itinerary names eighty stages altogether.

[4] Cf. Tommasetti, *La Campagna Romana*, iii. 98.

very early on the last morning of his journey, continued to follow the Via Cassia until it joined the great north road, the Via Flaminia, and crossing almost immediately afterwards the Ponte Molle (Pons Milvius), two miles from Rome, gazed with historic reverence on "Father Tiber."

But Sigeric was no antiquarian, and the walls of Rome, and the great Porta Flaminia by which he entered it, had no attractions for him, except in so far as they enclosed so many of the shrines of the Saints. No sooner had he entered the city than he hurried to St. Peter's (*primitus ad limitem b. Petri Ap.*). Then he visited the Church of St. Mary of the English (*deinde ad S. Mariam scolam Anglorum*), and no doubt there announced his coming and his intention to pass some time with his countrymen in Rome. Next, recrossing the river, he looked in at the Church of St. Lawrence in Lucina, or in Craticula as the Itinerary calls it, and again passing through the Porta Flaminia, returned almost as far as the Ponte Molle to see the Church of St. Valentine, one of the halting places of the procession of the "great litany" on St. Mark's Day (April 23).

It would be wearisome to tell of the other churches the indefatigable prelate visited on this day. He made the entire circuit of the city walls, seeing the great basilicas outside the walls. Re-entering the city by the Porta Capena (di S. Paolo), he examined some of the churches on the Aventine and in the Trastevere. Then, concludes the clerk, "we returned home" to the Schola Anglorum. On the second day the worthy prelate did not visit so many churches. His clerk furnishes us with the reason. "We dined with the lord Pope John" (XV) at the Lateran, and no doubt made arrangements with him to receive the pall; for it was to get the pall or pallium that Sigeric had undertaken the journey to Rome.[1]

It would take too long to put on record the other famous people from this isle who reached Rome in the early Middle Ages, and found rest and refreshment at the Schola Anglorum. But it is interesting to know that King Macbeth was one of them (1050).

The interest of the Popes in the English colony showed

[1] *Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, an. 990.

itself in various ways. Though, for instance, they allowed others to choose the subordinate officials of the Schola Anglorum, they reserved to themselves the choice of its supreme director, the archpriest.[1] The "others" referred to were the canons of St. Peter's, upon whom our Schola after the decrees of Leo IV, depended, and to whom twice a year it had to pay a sum of money (*pensiones*), at least till the days when it was freed from the obligation of paying any kind of tax.[2]

The Popes also allowed those of the English nation who might die in their quarter (*in Schola Saxiæ*) to be buried in their own *schola*, whereas those of other nationalities who died in Rome were, for the most part, required to be buried in the Schola Francorum.[3]

The Schola and its inhabitants also shared in the bounties which the mediæval Popes were wont to grant on exceptional occasions [4] or at regular intervals.[5] Our countrymen could also count on the personal services of the Pope, and we read that on February 23, 1123, Pope Calixtus II consecrated an altar in honour of our Lady in her church in Saxia.[6]

Unfortunately as time rolled on, evil days began to fall on Rome, and on the Schola Anglorum in particular. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Emperors in their quarrels with the Popes often not merely set up antipopes, but supported them, and strove to further their own views by force of arms. In the struggles of these great rivals, the City of Rome was several times the scene of fierce fights.

[1] Ep. 79 (an. 1053) of St. Leo IX confirming and quoting a bull of Leo IV, ap. P.L., t. 143, p. 704 ff. "In hac tamen ecclesia (S. Dei genitricis V. Mariæ quæ vocatur Schola Saxonum) ordinatio archipresbyteri consilio nostro fiat."

[2] *Ib.* Cf. Kehr, *Italia Pontific.*, i. p. 145.

[3] *Ib.* Leo IX speaks of the inhabitants of a *schola* as *scholentes* or *scholenses*.

[4] Cf. of the bounties given by Leo IV when he finished the Leonine City (In vit. n. 73: "Magnam sive Romanis sive diversis nationibus . . . rogam distribuens.")

[5] "S. Marie Saxie 12 den. pro thuribulis." *Lib. Cens.* ed. Fabre, i. 301. Given at Easter. *Ib.* p. 309 for donation on the day of the Greater Litanies (St. Mark).

[6] Kehr, *Italia Pontif.*, i. p. 151.

The Leonine City with the English Hospice in its midst was seriously damaged by Henry IV in 1084, by Henry V in 1119, and by Frederick I in 1167.

Matters went from bad to worse as far, at least, as the material prosperity of the city and its institutions was concerned, when, in the middle of the twelfth century, the Romans, following the example of most of the great cities in the north of Italy, wished to establish a republic, and in their endeavours to carry out their wishes sometimes committed regrettable excesses. These led to the Popes leaving Rome. They even caused our countryman, Hadrian IV (1154–9), to lay Rome under an interdict, and one of his immediate successors, Lucius III, to forbid pilgrims to go to Rome. Rome under an interdict, or Rome without the Pope, had no attraction for Englishmen.

Besides, there had taken place meanwhile a change of conditions in England. After the Norman conquest, the English were ruled by men who wished to control their souls as well as their bodies. The Norman Kings wished to be the lords of the Church and of the State. They would not allow their subjects to leave the realm without their permission, and strove to hinder communication with Rome. Consequently the visits of the English to Rome began to decrease seriously, and their Schola to decay.

In connection with this falling off of English pilgrimages and visits to Rome, one or two very interesting documents have come down to us. In 1162–3, Peter, Cardinal Deacon of St. Eustachius, wrote to St. Thomas Becket to say that the Church of our Lady, "quae Sassonorum dicitur," and which had been provided by the Popes for the reception of the English who came to visit the tombs of the Apostles, in order that after their long journey they might find consolation and charity as in their own homes, was now stricken with poverty.

It is so poor, continued the Cardinal, that it barely supports a few clerics and a layman or two for the service of the church itself, and for the consolation of the pilgrims. Hence the Pope, pitying the condition of the fabric, has sent letters to the English Church urging it to help the Schola,

and the Cardinal begs St. Thomas to add his letters to those of the Pope.[1]

What was the precise effect of this appeal I cannot say, but no doubt the struggle between King Henry and the Archbishop prevented the latter from doing very much to help anybody or anything. Indeed, before he died, he found it necessary to assure Pope Alexander III (1170) that it was not his fault if the English ceased to visit Rome as they had been accustomed to do.[2] Besides, if full credence can be given to Gilbert Foliot, the English bishops had no money to spare at this time. For, writing to this same Pope in 1165, he assured him that there was no money which could be lent to him "because the lawsuits and exactions of the King's men have swept away all our ready money."

The Schola Anglorum was doomed. In the last quarter of the twelfth century its buildings, with the exception of its church, went to ruin. But that same point of time saw mount the throne of the Fisherman, the great Innocent III (1198–1216), a man who had eyes not only for what was greatest, but even for what was least, all over the world. Among other details, the decay of the English quarter arrested his attention. As we learn, both from himself and from his biographer,[3] he reconstructed the buildings of the old Schola and turned them into a hospital for the poor and sick. This hospital of "S. Maria in Saxia" he placed under the management of a confraternity which had been founded by Guy of Montpellier for the care of the sick, some twenty years before his accession.[4] As this confraternity was known as that "of the Holy Ghost" (*fratres S. Spiritus*), the old name of S. Maria in Saxia, after a brief struggle, went almost completely out of use not very long after the

[1] Ep. ap. *Materials for the Hist. of Archbishop T. Becket*, v. 64, ed. Rolls Series.

[2] Ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 241.

[3] Ep. vii. 95, June 18, 1204; *Gesta. Inn.*, n. 144. Cf. *Annals of Waverley*, ad. an. 1213, which also tell how Innocent founded the hospital "in loco ubi quondam peregrinantibus de Anglia domicilium erat edificatum, et Anglorum schola dicitur, eamque ditavit . . . terris, etc." Rolls Series, ap. *Annal. Monast.*, ii. p. 280.

[4] Hurter, *Tableau des Institutions de l'église au Moyen Age*, ii. p. 495 ff.

brothers took possession of the new hospital, and the church and quarter which had for some 400 years been known under the title of S. Maria, have ever since about the close of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, been generally known under the designation of S. Spiritus. By the year 1450 the tradition of the connection of the hospital with the Schola Anglorum would appear to have been lost, for we find that John Capgrave (*Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, p. 17, cf. p. 61) simply speaks of "the hospitall of the Holy Ghost" without note or comment.

Not content with simply building a new hospital on the site of the old Schola Anglorum, Innocent was anxious to endow it. For this purpose he supplied some funds himself [1] and appealed to others to help him. Among those to whom he thus turned was our own King John, and a charter of the English Sovereign, which has been preserved, shows that the Pope did not appeal to him in vain. It ran: "John, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord (dominus) of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, . . . moved by divine love, for the good of his own soul, and for the souls of his ancestors and heirs, and on account of respect for the Lord Pope Innocent, who has appealed to him on this matter, grants 100 marks yearly to the hospital which the said Pope has built by the Church of S. Maria in Saxia, which is called of the English, and where used to be a house of entertainment for them" (1204).[2]

There is much which is very interesting that might be told about the famous Hospital of the Holy Ghost; [3] but though, as we have seen, it was partly endowed by England; though the brothers of the hospital were authorised by Innocent III,[4] by King John [5] and by the Archbishop of

[1] Ep. x. 179.

[2] This charter of King John was inserted by Honorius III in a bull which he addressed to the brothers of the Hospital of S. Maria in Saxia, Jan. 3, 1218. Ep. ii. 98. Cf. a similar grant of the Bishop of Chartres in 1202. Cf. Ep. Inn. III, x. 223.

[3] On this eldest hospital in the world see Lallemand, *Hist. de la charité à Rome*, p. 227 ff. Paris, 1878.

[4] Ep., vii. 95.

[5] Ep. ap. Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 117.

Canterbury to collect money for it in England,[1] and though it was visited by our countrymen on account of the real or supposed indulgences to be gained there,[2] still the hospital was not exclusively supported by them, and it was not the counterpart of the "Schola Anglorum." It was not an English centre. However, as part of its endowment came from England and it still occupies the site of our first national establishment in Rome, we may be permitted to add a few more items of information regarding it which show its subsequent connection with our country. A kind of honorary confraternity which Eugenius IV described as "of great authority and composed of devout persons of both sexes, was established by Innocent III in connection with his hospital. Its first known member from the British Isles appears to have been that interesting ecclesiastic Giraldus Cambrensis. He tells us himself of the hospital which Innocent had founded in a locality wont to be called "the Anglican School" (*schola Anglicana*), and gained thereby various indulgences.

From the bull of Eugenius IV (March 25, 1446), from which we have just quoted, and which reconstituted the hospital, it appears that the confraternity of Innocent III

[1] Cf. the Register of W. Giffard, Archbishop of York, for a letter of Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury (1266), on this subject, p. 152, ed. Surtees Soc., 1904. The Cardinal Legate, Ottoboni, "requires" the Prelates of England to receive kindly the brothers of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit, on account of the good work they are doing, to permit them to collect alms and to help their work by granting them suitable commendatory letters, in accordance with the form sent by the Pope (April 9, 1266, p. 151). Consequently the Archbishop of Canterbury orders the priests of his province to explain to the people on three successive Sundays the object of the collection, and to collect the alms themselves (Sept. 19, 1266), p. 152.

[2] The Vernon MS. (*c.* 1370) of the old English *Stacions of Rome* has (p. 22, ed. Furnivall, London, 1867) the following quaint lines—

> "At the chirche of seynt spirit,
> In the weie to trismere (Trastevere) ful riht,
> Vche (each) dai there is eight hundred year to pardoun
> And thridde part of thi synnes remissioun."

In connection with this it may be noted that Nicholas IV in 1291 granted on a few fixed days a "relaxation of one year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who visit the church of Writtle (Essex, diocese of London, given by King John) belonging to the hospital of the Holy Ghost in Saxia." Cf. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i. 537.

had been one of its best mainstays. This "certain old books" had made clear to the Pope, whose interesting bull may be read in the *Liber Fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe.* This interesting volume is to be found in the library (Biblioteca Lancisiana) attached to the hospital.[1]

Besides bulls of Eugenius IV and Sixtus IV (March 21, 1478) reconstituting the hospital and confirming its privileges, the *Liber* contains the names of the members of the confraternity of the hospital from the year 1446, and the sums they subscribed to the institution. The names have been in nearly every case entered by the members themselves and were mostly inscribed in the jubilee year of 1500. Occasionally names were entered by properly constituted proctors. Thus, among the English members of the confraternity, "the most serene lord Henry (VII), King of England and France and Lord of Ireland," was duly inscribed as a member "of this holy confraternity" by this proctor of his Majesty in November 1494.[2]

The only other English member of this confraternity which we shall mention here is that of the famous scholar John Colet. His entry is as follows: "I John Colet inscribed as members of this holy confraternity Henry Colet, Knight, John and Richard their children (March 13, 1493) with the aim and object of their gaining all the indulgences and privileges granted to this confraternity." [3] As the history of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit is not our concern, we must refer the reader who may wish to know more of it to the interesting old work of Fr. Pierre Saulnier.[4]

Before bringing this chapter to a conclusion, however, it will not be out of place to add a few more words about the Sacristy of the Church of S. Spirito which adjoins the hospital.[5] The reader may remember that this church stands on the site of that of St. Mary which belonged to

[1] *Cod. Lancis*, n. 328. For the history of this codex of 486, pages of parchment, see P. Egidi in the *Bollettino dell' Instituto Storico Italiano*, n. 34, p. 257 ff. Rome, 1914. Egidi in the same year and place also printed the MS. in his *Necrologi della Provincia Romana*, vol. ii. p. 107 ff., with plates.

[2] P. 73v. of the modern pagination of the MS.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 234.

[4] *De capite S. Ordinis S. Spiritus*, Lyons, 1649.

[5] Cf. *supra.*

the Schola Anglorum. Although the sacristy has not, as far as is known, any such connection with the sacristy which must have been attached to the old Church of the English, it is interesting not merely as a work of art, but because the subjects of the frescoes which adorn it chiefly relate to the old Schola Anglorum and to the hospital which was its heir.

It was the work of the Tuscan Stephen Vai, one of the most distinguished heads of the hospital, who was ruling it when Saulnier wrote the book which we have just cited. Stephen had a most distinguished career both before and after he joined the brothers of the Holy Ghost in 1632, and according to Saulnier was too modest to allow him to narrate his great deeds at length. However, says the biographer, dumb things speak for him. Among these he names the sacristy built and furnished by him in the most exquisite style, and adorned with frescoes. Of these paintings mention has already been made, and the subjects of two of them enumerated. Of the others one shows Pope Paschal I stopping the flames which were devouring the English quarter by exposing to them a picture of our Lady, and another of Leo IV and Ethelwulf restoring the Burg after it had been devastated by a third fire. There are also depicted in this remarkable building the funeral of Burhed, and the punishment of the perjury of King Elfred (924). Two frescoes are devoted to Innocent III. In the first he is seen confirming the rule and Order of the Holy Spirit (1197), and in the second giving over the house of our Lady to Guido, the founder of the Order of the Holy Spirit, and to his companions (1204). Next are seen Eugenius IV renewing the work of his predecessors and Sixtus IV playing the part of another founder. Finally, we may observe Charles VIII, King of France, and Charlotte, Queen of Cyprus, being enrolled as members of the confraternity.

Thus much about the first Hospice of the English in Rome. The subsequent chapters will trace the history of its successors to our own times.

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH HOSPICE

After the loss of the Holy Land, the sanctuaries of Rome attracted more and more the devotion of Catholic pilgrims. In the year 1300 Pope Boniface VIII instituted, or more probably revived, the practice of celebrating every hundred years the year of Jubilee. Fifty years later Pope Clement VI was persuaded to reduce the period of this visit to the tombs of the Apostles to half-a-century, on the plea that a great number of Catholics could not expect to take part in a celebration which came only every hundred years. Though the Pope was then at Avignon with his court, he issued his bull proclaiming the Jubilee of 1350 and bestowing the customary indulgences upon those who visited the holy places in the Eternal City. This brought an immense concourse of people from every Christian nation to Rome. Some reputable authorities have stated that the pilgrims in this year numbered at least a million and the city was crowded to excess. A new street, still retaining its name Via dei Pellegrini, which led directly to the Bridge of Sant' Angelo, was made for the convenience of the strangers; and in the immediate vicinity of this "pilgrims' way" there were erected at this time several national hospices for the reception and entertainment of the various peoples of Europe. The hospices of Aragon, of Leon, Flanders, Sweden, Germany, France, etc., still exist.

The English pilgrims, who formed part of the great concourse of peoples at the Jubilee of 1350, had no national hospice in existence, and found very indifferent accommodation. This fact and their national pride and piety led to the foundation of the English Hospital, or Hospice of the Most Holy Trinity and St. Thomas of Canterbury, on the spot where now stands the venerable English College.

Another reason which impelled the English to found a hospice of their own was probably to protect their fellow-countrymen from the imposition and even violence of the Roman lodging-house keepers. There was a real and recognised reason for this protection. A decree of the Senator Angelo Malabranca (September 15, 1235), after setting forth that it is the duty of the Senator to keep order in the city, and to see that pilgrims who come to the threshold of the Apostles are not scandalised, states that it has been discovered that "many of those who dwell in the neighbourhood of the basilica of St. Peter force pilgrims and visitors to Rome to take lodgings in their houses. Moreover, what is worse, if the pilgrims and visitors have taken up their abode elsewhere, these people drag them forth, and against their will compel them to lodge in their houses. When they are called to account for such conduct they alledge certain evil customs."

The Senator regarding all this as an offence not only against "the Prince of the Apostles to whose shrine the faithful flock from every part of the world," but against God Himself, decrees that, all things to the contrary notwithstanding, these evil practices must cease, and empowers the Canons of St. Peter's to see to it that they do cease." [1]

From the muniments in the College archives it would appear that some years before 1360 a guild of laymen of English nationality had acquired certain property in the Via Monserrato with the object of establishing there a hospice for English pilgrims and travellers coming to Rome. This has been shown quite clearly in a paper communicated to the International Historical Congress held in Rome in 1905.[2] The chief document, which goes to prove this, is dated January 27, 1362, and as it is really the foundation charter of the English Hospital, it may be quoted here :—

"In the name of the Lord. Amen. In the year of the Nativity of the same 1362, under the pontificate of the

[1] See the decree in the Chartulary of St. Peter's. It is cited at length by F. A. Vitale, *Storia deplomatica de' Senatori di Roma*, i. p. 98. Rome, 1791.

[2] "The National English Institutions in Rome," by Dr. W. Croke. Atti iii. pp. 555 *se*, 99.

Lord Pope Innocent VI, etc., John the son of Peter the Englishman, otherwise called John Shepherd (Pecorarius), rosary seller of the Rione Arenula, of his own good will sold and, under the title of sale, etc., made over to William Chandeler of York, England, who received it in his own name, and on the part of and in the name of the community and society of the English of the city, and of the poor sick, needy and distressed people coming from England to the city, and for the convenience and use of the same, etc., a certain one-storeyed house with a garden behind it, with the income of the same from the ground to the top." [1]

Forty golden florins was the price paid by the *Societas* or Confraternity of the English for this property, and it is described as standing opposite the Church of St. Mary and St. Catherine, now known as Santa Caterina della Ruota, facing the present English College. It is worth noting in regard to this purchase that the witnesses of the original deed, like John Shepherd the vendor, were evidently men in the lower ranks of life. One was a servant and another a *Paternostrarius*, or rosary seller, like Shepherd himself.

On the 4th of February of the same year, 1362, John Shepherd's wife, Alice, made a formal renunciation of any claim she might have upon the house sold by her husband. This deed was made in favour of Robert de Pinea, Syndic, and of John the Goldsmith, chamberlain or *camerarius* of the Society and Community of English, and it was signed in the presence of William Chandeler and a notary.[2] In regard to this property it is not uninteresting to notice that by a previous deed, dated September 24, 1361, John Shepherd is described as the purchaser and is spoken of as a " dealer of rosaries, formerly of England," and again that among the witnesses to this transaction are two other dealers in rosaries, Simon the son of John Barber, and William Ricciardi or Richards.

[1] English College Archives. *Memb.*, Jan. 27, 1362. Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome*, p. 270, says, " The hospice occupied part of the site of the *Stabula Factionis Venetæ*, the barracks and stables of the squadron of the charioteers of the circus, who wore blue colours."

[2] *Memb.*, Feb. 4, 1362.

After the sale of their house and garden to the Society, Shepherd and his wife offered themselves to William Chandeler, the Warden, Robert-at-Pyne (de Pinea) and John the son of William the Goldsmith, the *camerarii* or administrators of the Society, to serve the poor and strangers, who might be received in the Hospice. They promised to leave all the property they possessed at their death to the Society, "as a help and for the assistance of the sick and poor coming in numbers to the aforesaid house." [1]

The above is the account of the foundation of the Hospice for English pilgrims, according to the original documents still to be found in the Archives of the English College. There is, however, another story of the origin of the Institution given by the historian Stowe, which, though clearly wrong in some particulars, may very well be correct in regard to the names of those who are represented as the founders or helpers of the original Society, or Fraternity of the English living in Rome.

Stowe writes: "The founders of this Hospital were Sir Robert Braybroke, Bishop of *London* (?), Thomas Brampton, Bishop of Rochester,[2] Sir Hugh Calveley, Sir John Hawkwood, Sir John Thornham, Knights; John Twiford, John Shepherd and Alice his wife, Robert Christal and Agnes his wife, Robert Windleront, Walter Whithers, Robert-at-Pyne, Adam Staple, Henry Line, draper, and other citizens of London A.D. 1380, in the reign of Richard II."

It is at least curious to note that Stowe here names at least three of those who appear in the earliest deeds in connection with the English Hospice, namely: John Shepherd, Alice his wife, and Robert-at-Pyne. And although he is wrong as to the date he gives for the foundation, namely 1380 in place of 1362, it would seem almost certain that he must have had some documentary evidence for the connection of the others whom he names with the original foundation. Very possibly all these may have been in some measure helpers of the Hospital for the reception of English strangers and pilgrims, rich and poor alike, who found their way to the Eternal City.

[1] Ib., *Memb.*, April 14, 1362.
[2] The name of this Prelate was Brunton.

It would then appear on the whole probable that a society or fraternity of the English living in Rome was in existence before 1362, on which date John Shepherd agreed to sell his house and garden to William Chandler and others, as representing that Society. An entry in one of the volumes in the English College archives states that this Society or Fraternity began in 1358, when it was placed under the protection of the Most Holy Trinity. It may safely be conjectured, therefore, that the knowledge of the inconveniences and difficulties, suffered by English pilgrims attending the Jubilee of 1350, led the English residents of Rome to combine and to found a Guild, or quasi-religious Society, for the purpose of providing a Hospice for their fellow-countrymen, such as other Christian nations possessed. According to an entry in the Register of Bishop Grandison of Exeter [1] this Society was subsequently encouraged and approved by Pope Gregory XI, who bestowed indulgences upon its members. The approval of this Pontiff was probably due to the influence of Dom Thomas Brunton, called by Stowe Brampton, and named by him as one of the founders of the Hospice. At the beginning of the Pontificate of Pope Gregory XI, Brunton was living in Rome and was made penitentiary of the Holy See, till his appointment to the see of Rochester in 1372.

The Hospital for English pilgrims, thus begun in the middle of the fourteenth century, continued to prosper. In 1364 there is recorded the purchase by the *Universitas* or *Societas pauperum Anglorum* of a house and garden adjoining the premises bought from John Shepherd two years previously,[2] and in which he and his wife had been installed as guardians or managers by the ruler of the fraternity. As time went on other houses and lands were given or purchased to add to the property. Thus to take a couple of examples: in 1371 two Englishmen, named in the deed Robert and Richard, gave over two houses and three pieces of land in the "*regione Parionis*," [3] and John Palmer, "the Englishman," gave another house near the hospital.[4] This

[1] Register 1, ff. 20, quoted by Dr. Oliver, *Monast. Exon.*
[2] *Memb.*, Oct. 22, 1364.
[3] *Memb.*, May 25, 1371.
[4] *Memb.*, May 29, 1383

John Palmer had been Guardian of the Institution, holding that office in 1374 and 1375.[1]

Sometime about 1390, amongst the brethren of the Society there was a certain John White, who is described as a citizen of London, merchant.[2] He subsequently, in 1405, became Guardian of the English Hospital; but before this time, namely in 1396, he conceived the project of establishing a second hospice for English pilgrims on the other side of the Tiber. With this project in view, White purchased a house and garden from the Canons of the Church of St. Chrysogono, which, as the deed of purchase sets out, he intended to devote to the service of the poor and strangers under the patronage of St. Chrysogono.[3] Incidentally it is mentioned that a similar house for the English had already been in existence on the other side of the Tiber, for the past forty years. This gives the date of the foundation of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, or as it was subsequently called, the Hospital of St. Thomas, about the year 1350.

A few months later—to be exact, April 22, 1397—this same John White "of England, but now dwelling in the city of Rome," executed a deed dealing with the purchases he had made. He was then intending, as it would seem, to return for a time to England, and "on account of the long distance and the perils of the journey," he prudently wished to secure the property for the purpose for which he had purchased it, namely for the poor in this Hospice in Trastevere. In view of the possibility of his not returning to Rome, and no doubt feeling the precarious condition of his new foundation, he directs that in that event, and in case that the Hospice did not succeed in its purpose, the property was to pass to the Hospital of St. Thomas over the river. In particular he names also a house that belonged to him in the *regione Arenula*, near the English Hospital.[4] A house which, it may be noted, was long held by the Hospital and which was in the end exchanged with Cardinal Farnese for another property, as it was near the site upon which he was then engaged in erecting his Palace.

[1] *Memb.*, Oct. 26, 1374. *Memb.*, Sept. 9, 1375.
[2] Lib. 272, f. 8. [3] *Memb.*, Oct. 23, 1396. [4] *Memb.*, April 22, 1397.

Ultimately John White, to secure his foundation in the Trastevere, established a religious fraternity and associated with himself some others, whom he desired to be regarded as co-founders of the Hospice. The earliest Register of the Trastevere Hospice is prefaced by the following note: "Pray ye for the souls of the founders, brethren and benefactors set here below and for all the faithful departed, as well as for the good estate of those in this list, who are still alive." [1]

As this Trastevere English Hospice was from the first closely connected with that of St. Thomas over the Tiber, and as it was subsequently amalgamated with it, it may be convenient to trace its history before taking up again the story of the more ancient establishment in the Via Monserrato.

The original founders of the Trastevere institution are stated to have been: "John Whyte (or Wight), citizen of London and merchant, an Englishman"; "Peter Paul Baker, now a Roman citizen, *Gallicus*, with Magdalen Maria his wife a Roman"; "John Ely a serjeant at arms to the Pope"; "Dns. Roger Knight (Knecht?) cappelanus, an Englishman;" and an English merchant, named John Gaylot. These founders of the Hospital are also named in the list of members of the Fraternity of the Hospice, which is fairly complete to the year 1466. There was a yearly election of members and amongst the brethren are to be found all sorts and conditions of people, from a Bishop to a tailor. Thus, in the lists we have the names of Bishop Thomas Polton of Chichester, and Adam Moleyns or Molyneux also of Chichester; Henry Harborough, Canon of Salisbury (1394), and John Urry, Prebendary of Lincoln (1431); John Welles, Abbot of the Premonstratensian house of Eggleston (1411); Walter Grey, protonotary Apostolic, Archdeacon of Northampton, and proctor of the King of England in Rome, etc., etc.

It is interesting to note that many of the brethren of the Hospice in the Trastevere were also associates of the earlier foundation in the Via Monserrato. Some, indeed, became officials of the latter. John White himself, for

[1] *Archives*, lib. 272, f. 1.

example, was the Guardian of St. Thomas, apparently in the year of his death, 1405. Other brethren of the Trastevere Institution who became Guardians of St. Thomas's were Richard Thwaytes, Armiger in 1446, and John Lacy, Armiger in 1447. In this latter year another brother of the Trastevere Hospice, Dom Hugh Foster, described as a monk of Glastonbury, was one of the *camerarii* or councillors of St. Thomas's.

John White gradually added to his first purchase of a house and garden opposite the Church of St. Chrysogono. In January, 1404, he secured the house and land adjoining for the purpose of building a chapel to serve the hospice.[1] This work he took in hand immediately, but did not live to finish, for in his last will dated October 23, 1404, he directs that the small house next to his hospital, which he had begun to prepare for a chapel, in which Mass might be celebrated, should be completed by his executors. According to his wish John White was buried in the Church of St. Chrysogono.[2]

After the death of the original founder, the Hospital in the Trastevere continued to grow. In 1406 three houses near to the Hospital of St. Thomas on the other side of the river, together with a vineyard, outside the *Porta Portuense*, were given to the Trastevere Hospice,[3] and the officials the same year purchased three more houses in the Trastevere for 100 florins.[4] Two years later again, in 1408, the officials of the Fraternity secured another house and garden adjoining the original purchase, and this acquisition made them the possessors of the block of land which lies between the Via Monte de' Fiori and the Via dei Genovesi. The Trastevere Hospice was apparently well endowed and supported and, at least on two occasions, came to the assistance of the sister establishment of St. Thomas by a loan of 100 ducats.[5]

All trace of the chapel has now disappeared. It stood at the corner of the Via dei Genovesi, and was dedicated

[1] *Memb.*, Jan. 1, 1404. [2] *Memb.*, Oct. 23, 1404.
[3] *Memb.*, Jan. 13, 1406. [4] *Memb.*, Sept. 29, 1406.
[5] Capgrave, an Austin Friar in 1450, tells of "this transtibre," which hath "a hospital of Seint Edmund the Kyng" (*Ye Solace of Pilgrimes*, Oxford, 1911, ed. C. A. Mella, p. 109).

to the Holy Trinity and St. Edmund, King and Martyr. It existed and remained in use till 1664, for on May 29 of that year the then Rector of the English College petitioned the Ecclesiastical authorities of Rome to be allowed to close it, as it was no longer needed. He states in his petition, first, that by the Bull of Foundation of the College, this institution was bound to support and assist pilgrims to the Eternal City and that this duty had always been faithfully carried out: secondly, that as part of the property belonging to the College there was a small chapel dedicated to St. Edmund, which had served the pilgrim house in the Trastevere, when that had been a separate entity. It was situated "in loco Montefiore," between the Church of St. Chrysogonus and that of S. Giovanni Genuensis: thirdly, that hitherto one of the priests from the College had always gone to say Mass in the chapel every Friday, Sunday and Feastday, and that there had been a Missa Cantata sung there on the feast of St. Edmund, for the founder and benefactors of the Trastevere Hospice. As the need for continuing these services no longer existed, the Rector begs that the obligation of the masses, etc., may be transferred to the high altar of the church of the English College over which there was a picture of the patron St. Edmund. The petition was granted and the execution of the decree committed to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome.[1] The same year on July 12, 1664, the Vicegerent, Mgr. Caraffa, came to the chapel and with the usual formalities closed it for divine service.[2]

The actual position of the Chapel of St. Edmund is known through a note written by Dr. Gradwell in 1818. He states that at that time No. 22 Via dei Genovesi was a house made out of the old chapel, and that not only was the then existing building the chapel transformed into an ordinary business place, but that over the door there was still to be seen the arms of St. Edmund King and Martyr, and that, inside the

[1] *Lib. Instr.*, xi., May 29, 1664.

[2] *Ib.*, vol. xi., July 12, 1664. The decree of the Congregation was recorded on a tablet set up in the old church and now reproduced in the Sacristy of the College. It is reproduced in *Iscrizioni delle Chiese di Roma*, Forcella 2, vii. p. 182, no. 378.

house, the place where the altar had stood was plainly visible with an almost obliterated fresco of the Martyrdom of the Saint over it. An old map of the College property made in 1613 shows the position of the chapel at the corner of the Via dei Genovesi. The building, however, which in 1818 was No. 22 of this street, has now been pulled down, but it undoubtedly stood at the left-hand corner of the Via dei Genovesi, where it joins the modern Viale del Re. In fact a small tablet is still to be seen on the broken wall of the old premises recording "Domus sub directo dominio Collegii Anglorum Urbis et perpetua locatione Archiconfraternitatis Charitatis Urbis. Anno MDCII. Diae XV Octobris."

From an old account book in the Archives of the English College some idea may be gathered of the property and management of the Hospice for the English in the Trastevere, which was dedicated first to St. Chrysogonus and then jointly to him and St. Edmund, when the chapel was finished. Thus in 1449 the Fraternity possessed eight houses in the Trastevere and one near the Church of Sta. Cecilia, as well as vineyards and gardens. It also enjoyed the rent of a house and garden situated near the English Hospital of St. Thomas, probably on a portion of the site upon which now stands the Farnese Palace. At this time the house was occupied by Dr. William Gray, Protonotary Apostolic and proctor of the English King at the Roman Curia for which he paid sixty ducats a year.[1] Previously these premises had been in the occupation of the Archbishop of Benevento for nine months, but the Hospital accounts reveal the fact that he had never paid his rent.[2] From one of its vineyards, outside the Porta di San Pancrazio, the Hospice of St. Edmund had five tabelatos of good pure must at the vintage of 1449, and sold eighteen barrels of wine to the sister establishment of St. Thomas. In fact, this latter was a constant customer for the produce of the vineyards belonging to St. Edmund's.

The management of the Hospice was in the hands of elected officials. At a general meeting of the brethren of the Confraternity held annually there were chosen two

[1] Lib. 272, f. 8. [2] Lib. 272, f. 7.

auditors of accounts, a Guardian and two councillors. Sometimes also a chaplain was appointed at the general meeting, at which also applicants for membership of the Confraternity were considered and admitted. This form of government lasted from the foundation by John White in 1396 until 1464. From the first there had been a close connection between the two English Hospitals, and, as their object was practically identical, many members were associates of both Institutions. The bond gradually grew closer, till in 1464 an actual union of the two existing establishments was effected. On March 12 in that year, at a plenary meeting of the brethren of St. Edmunds, it was agreed that the Guardian and Councillors of the two hospitals should be the same. Thus after these officials had been elected at St. Thomas's, the same were to be proposed and elected to the same offices at St. Edmund's. Each corporation continued to elect its own associates, and the administration of the property of each was kept separate, with separate accounts; but the general management of the two establishments was in the same hands. Gradually the interests of the old Institution of St. Thomas naturally came to predominate, and, at the same meeting at which the partial union was effected, it was resolved to appoint caretakers at St. Edmund's, as the officials, being more occupied with the affairs of St. Thomas, would naturally reside there. It was thus arranged that a man and his wife should be found, to take charge of the buildings in the Trastevere and to see to the proper reception of poor English pilgrims and others. It is specially ordered, however, in regard to the choice of the first caretakers that they "were not to be Scotch, or to belong to any other people, at war with the English King or the English nation."[1]

The system arranged for the management of the Hospice of St. Edmund, inaugurated in 1464, was continued at any rate till the close of the sixteenth century. For example, one John Borowbridge was appointed custos or guardian of the hospice in 1525:[2] he continued to hold office till 1528, when an examination of the accounts seemed to show that he had got into considerable debts and he was removed

[1] *Memb.*, 1580. [2] *Memb.*, May 3, 1525.

from his office, his name being erased from the list of members of the Fraternity.[1] Borowbridge was succeeded by an Englishman named Tracy, who was named perpetual guardian,[2] and, shortly afterwards, a woman was appointed to see to the pilgrims' rooms and take care of the chapel. She was given a small house and garden, and was instructed to receive all English travellers who sought hospitality for three nights.[3]

The Hospice of the Holy Trinity, St. Thomas and St. Edmund

From the time of the union of the two English Hospitals in Rome—that in the Trastevere and that in the Via Monserrato—all interest in the establishments is transferred to the older and the better known Hospice of St. Thomas, now the venerable English College.[4] Some interesting particulars regarding its early history may be gathered from an examination of an old account book still preserved in the College archives.[5] The register itself was commenced in 1523, when John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells, became Guardian or Custos of the Fraternity in that year. The front page of the volume is illuminated, having a figure of the Holy Trinity, supported on either side by the two patrons of the united hospitals St. Thomas and St. Edmund, King and Martyr.

The inventories entered in the book are of considerable archæological interest and are set forth carefully year after year when the accounts were audited. A sentence of

[1] *Memb.*, Oct. 25, 1528. [2] *Memb.*, Jan. 28, 1529.

[3] *Memb.*, April 24, 1530.

[4] An old inscription, formerly over the door of the Old College, shows the connection of the establishment with the English King. It shows the arms of England and France, and below, the following :—

HÆC CONJUNCTA DUO SUCCESSUS DEBITA LEGI
ANGLIA DANT REGI FRANCIA SIGNA SUO
M.CCCCXII
LAURENTIUS CHANCE ME FECIT

Thus it would seem that the inscription was made shortly before the death of Henry IV. In the year 1337 King Edward III had united the two arms of England and France in one.

[5] Lib. 33.

Holy Scripture, set down as a motto at the beginning of another volume of accounts,[1] gives the principle upon which those who kept them appear to have acted throughout. It is the following :—

" Ubi manus multæ sunt, claude. Et quodcumque trades numera et appende. Datum vero, et acceptum omne describe " (Eccl. xlii. 7).

Some interesting items as to people and things connected with the old Hospice may be gleaned from a volume, which might otherwise be passed over as likely to contain nothing but " dry-as-dust " material. For example : in the Inventories of the Hospice the names of the donors of pieces of plate, vestments, etc., are sometimes given. Thus in 1429, in the list of church things in the Sacristy, are to be found presents made to the Chapel of the English by the Prior of Canterbury; Robert Fitzhugh, Bishop of London; and Robert Bottle, Prior of the Hospital of St. John, London. Bishop Fitzhugh was an important personage. Having been Chancellor of Cambridge University, he was sent as Ambassador of the English King, to Rome in the year 1429—the year he made his present to the English Hospice. He was made Bishop of London in 1431, having been consecrated in Italy at Foligno. He was one of the English Bishops who attended the Council of Basle, and he died on his way back to England. His is an honoured name to connect with the English Hospice in Rome. It was about this time, namely in 1445, that Pope Eugenius IV issued his Bull for the Consecration of the Church and Cemetery of the Hospice.

In the year 1491 we find a very celebrated man as one of the three officials of St. Thomas's. This is Dr. Thomas Linacre,[2] the classical scholar and one who is regarded as the first founder of the College of Physicians of England. This distinguished man was educated first at the claustral school at Canterbury under Prior Sellyng, the pioneer of Greek studies and the new learning in England. Sellyng took Linacre with him to Italy and left him to study at the then celebrated University of Padua. There he took his degree in medicine in 1486, and returned to England in 1492. Every scrap of information about Linacre is of interest to

[1] Lib. 23, f. 1.

[2] Lib. 23, f. 5.

English scholars, and it is consequently important to find, from this old account book in the English College, that he was in Rome in 1491, and that he must have been so well known to the members of the Fraternity of the English Hospice that he was elected one of the two Councillors of the Institution in that year. At any rate, it is an honour to the English College to be able to associate the name of so distinguished a scholar with the many illustrious names to be found on the roll of this venerable Institution.

In 1496, among the names of the officials of the English Hospice appears that of John Giglis.[1] He had been in England, as Collector of Papal dues for Pope Sixtus IV, and returned to Rome as the agent or proctor in Curia for King Henry VII. For his services he was rewarded by being nominated by the Crown to the See of Worcester; but he died in Rome the following year, 1498. He probably lived at the Hospital; but at any rate he was an official of the establishment.

In the same year, another future Bishop was one of the two Councillors of the Hospice. This was Hugh Inge, or Ynge, who having been a scholar of Winchester in 1480 and Fellow of New College, Oxford, apparently settled in Rome in 1496. Dr. Inge acted as agent to Cardinal Wolsey, and no doubt through his influence, was nominated to the diocese of Meath in 1512. He subsequently became Archbishop of Dublin in 1521. At this period a certain Franciscan Friar, John Francis, was acting chaplain of the Hospice, and a note to an Inventory of a later date states that, on his death in 1498, " he left the Hospice twenty-three volumes nearly all relating to Theology."

The Inventory of 1496 reveals the fact that the establishment possessed a considerable amount of plate, both for the Church and the Refectory. Some of the silver vessels are described as having been presented by the Duchess of York, the mother of King Edward IV. Amongst other donors, there is recorded the name of the Abbot of Abingdon, who was the Ambassador of the English King to the Pope, and who was thus brought into close relation with the English Hospice, which had become the recognised centre

[1] Lib. 33, p. 6.

of English interests in the Eternal City. Another benefactor, noted in 1496, was Dr. Robert Sherborne, who became Bishop of Chichester in 1508 and who was Envoy of the English King in 1496 and again from 1502 to 1504.

Apparently the Library of the Hospital at the end of the fifteenth century was poorly furnished, and, whilst the theological books left to it by the Franciscan chaplain are mentioned in 1496, there is a note to the effect that, "partly by time and want of care, partly perhaps by having been stolen," the number of volumes in the common library had greatly diminished. In the list of kitchen utensils at this time there is an entry of "70 pewter platters purchased in England, and recently brought over in a royal ship." [1]

The support of the Hospice at this period depended mainly on the rents of the various properties it had acquired in Rome and its neighbourhood, either by purchase or through the generosity of benefactors. Besides this, subsidies were collected throughout England for a work of recognised national importance. The idea of John White, the founder of the Trastevere English Hospice of St. Edmund, to form a quasi-religious fraternity to assist poor pilgrims, was adopted after his death by the united hospitals. Collections were made from the English dwelling in the city and from the rich pilgrims, who came, often in considerable numbers, to visit the tombs of the Apostles and the shrines of the early martyrs of the Christian Church. For the purpose of gathering these alms there was an official collector in Rome itself to receive both them and also the collections made in England. As an instance of this, in 1491 the name of a certain Matthew de Laures appears as the official collector,[2] and in 1522 one Thomas Clerk, an Englishman, was appointed to receive the alms collected in England, and to lodge the sum with a London bank for transmission to Rome.[3]

Among the volumes in the Archives of the English College, there is one dealing with the collections made in England.[4] The book was prepared in 1446, and was drawn up in divisions according to the English dioceses; but com-

[1] Lib. f. 10.
[2] *Memb.*, April 14, 1491.
[3] *Memb.*, July 10, 1522.
[4] Lib. 16.

paratively few of its pages have, however, been filled up. It is really a receipt book, and the title given to it leaves little doubt that the names entered are those of contributors to the support of the English Hospice, and those who were enrolled members in the Fraternity of St. Thomas and St. Edmund. It has, indeed, been said that the entries are those of actual pilgrims to Rome, and the lists have been printed on this supposition,[1] but this is certainly not the case. The inhabitants of entire parishes are enrolled together; as, for example, the parish of Sutton Valence in Kent. Here D. Laurence Golding, evidently the priest of the village, heads a list of some forty or fifty men and women. It is clearly, to say the least, most unlikely that what must have been practically the whole of a village would with their priest have been in Rome at the same time. So, in the Norwich diocese, amongst others, we find that the Prioress of Campsey and eight of her nuns were enrolled on March 16, 1492. They would hardly have been all pilgrims in Rome on that date.

In the diocese of Worcester, again, over 600 names are recorded in this Register; and in some cases there is a note of the amount of alms bestowed. For example, in the parish of St. Swithun, London, there was a London merchant named Robert Fetwell, who had left the Roman Hospice six ducats, and on July 1, 1450, the widow paid this sum to the collector. So, in another parish, Thomas Scott, an alderman of the city, and his wife Edith promised to pay a yearly sum; but a note is added to this entry stating that in 1450 they had so far paid nothing.

From two or three notes at the end of this book of receipts, it may be conjectured that the Hospice received some 200 golden ducats a year: at least in 1447, Dr. Hugh Forster, Penitentiary of the Pope and in that year Custos of the Roman Institution, and the two *camerarii*, or councillors, accounted for the receipt of that sum. The year

[1] Foley *Records*, etc., prints the list of names from that published by John Bowyer Nichols in 1834, in *Collectanea Topographica*. In this print the first set of names is prefaced by the words *Nomina receptorum in Roma de Dioc. Cantuarien.* This would lead the reader to suppose that the names were those of actual pilgrims to Rome. This title, however, does not exist in the MS.

following, 1447, the same sum is acknowledged as having been received by John Lacy, the Custos of the Hospice, and his councillors. The name of the collector in those two years was one Matthew Crompe, and he forwarded the sum from England to the Roman officials. Before the list of the fraternity of the Roman Hospice in Yorkshire, there is a note from which it appears that a certain John Losthouse, "a citizen of York and a brother of the Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr in the city of Rome," had sent a certain number of golden ducats to the Custos in part payment of forty English soldi sterling, which he had promised. The money had been dispatched to Rome by the hands of three Yorkshire priests, who were travelling thither; but, on arriving in the Eternal City, on account of the exchange allowed at the banks of London and Bologna, it was found that the actual sum received was short of that promised by six nobles.

From the books in existence, it would appear that there were various grades among the English associates of the Roman Hospice. It is not quite clear what they were, or upon what the distinction was based; but probably it depended on the amount given. Some of the associates were merely members of the Confraternity, which existed for the support of the Hospice, and only partook in the Indulgences and spiritual favours given to those assisting this national charity. Others were admitted to "*concilia et suffragia*"—that is, apparently they were members having the right to take part in the management of the Hospital, and to give their vote at the yearly election of the officials. Amongst the associates in Rome, one or two well-known names may be noted as being also members of the Hospice. For instance, we find that George Lilly was an associate in Rome, and Dr. Richard Pede, a doctor of Canon Law and Dean of Hereford. In the diocese of Chichester the first of the Confratres to register his name was Adam Moleyns or Molyneux, Bishop of the same see. Whilst he was in Rome, he was councillor and auditor of the Hospice, and, as a notice of him says: "he has always been a protector and supporter of this Hospital."

In 1491 a Roman ecclesiastic and a former chamberlain

of the Pope—one John de Garona—left all his chapel furniture to the Church of St. Thomas's Hospital, and twenty ducats towards the building. He also bequeathed his house to the officials of the Hospice, but with the proviso that the rent should go each year towards the building of S. Laurenzo in Damaso as long as it was needed.[1]

It may be convenient here to speak of the provisions made for the pilgrims who visited Rome. By the established rule every gentleman or well-to-do person, if he desired, was to be given "bread, wine and ware" for three days free of charge, and every commoner had to be received at the Hospice "for eight days and nights, with meat, drink and lodging." Stowe in his *Annales* also says that "if any woman happens to be near the time of her deliverance, so that she dare not take her journey, she is to be honestly kept till she be purified, and then, if she were able, to go away with her child; if not, she was to be kept till it was seven years old." Dr. Oliver[2] writes: "The best description I have seen of it (the Hospice) is in the *Roma Sancta* by that prodigy of learning and piety, Dr. Gregory Martin, the original folio MS. of which is at Ugbrook, containing about 368 pages, and was finished April 9, 1581." He dates the foundation from 1361 in the Popedom of Innocent VI. "The church is very commodious, with six altars; chaplains and brethren within the house to say Mass and other service, eight with their Custos or Principal. Here are received all Englishmen without exception (especially pilgrims and the poorer sort) for eight days; and, upon consideration for the parties' necessity, for double and triple and longer, with meat, drink and lodging, very competent and honest; and money also according to the parties' necessities. Here are received the sick of our nation if there be some. The revenues are by the year about 1495 crowns, arising of houses especially. The Government pertaineth (in 1581) to the Cardinal Protector of our nation and to the chaplains and brethren within the house, which have their Custos, and to them of our nation abroad in the city of the better sort, which by order or statute are made

[1] Will, dated July 24, 1491, in *Lib. Instr.*, i. f. 1.

[2] Quoted by Br. Foley, *Diary and Pilgrim Book*, Introd. xxvii.

brethren. All which made a solemn Brotherhood and Congregation and meet together diverse times about matters of the Hospital."

Br. Foley, in his volume of the Jesuit Records regarding the *Diary and Pilgrim Book* of the English Hospice, has printed from Nichols's *Collectanea* some early lists of pilgrims who were received in the Roman house. They are for the years 1504 to 1507, but on a comparison of the print with the original MS.,[1] the names of persons and places in the former are found to be quite unreliable. The numbers of English coming to the Eternal City in the early years of the sixteenth century are quite remarkable. In 1504–5, for example, the total was 82, of whom 48 were of the poorer sort; in 1505–6 there are noted 212, of whom 157 were poor pilgrims; in 1506–7 some 207 were received at the Hospice. These are mere stray records, for the actual *Pilgrim Book* does not begin till 1580. Although in the margins of Cardinal Pole's account book there are notes of the reception of certain guests between the years 1548 and 1559, these are made by the accountant rather with the object of explaining additional expenses than for the purpose of registering the names of the guests or pilgrims.

From the date of the *Pilgrim Book*—1580 to the year 1656—the entries of the names are continuous, and the volume is a revelation of the numbers of Catholics who in the dark days of religious persecution found their way from England to the Eternal City. When dealing with this period of the History of the English College, it will be necessary to speak of these lists at greater length, and to call attention to some of the better known names of English visitors entered in the pages of this interesting volume. For the moment we may confine our attention to the earlier lists.

Almost the first name on the roll of pilgrims in 1504 is a Mr. Thomas Halsey, a student at Bologna.[2] He was not the only Englishman of that University who came on a visit to Rome; and perhaps the most interesting amongst these was Dr. Nicholas Harpesfield, who was received at the

[1] *Lib. Instr.*, i. f. 2, ff. 19, 21; ff. 29, 32.

[2] Not *Bonn* as Br. Foley always prints this word.

Hospice on October 17, 1505. This is the historian afterwards exiled for his faith in the reign of Elizabeth, of whom more will have to be said when he took refuge in the College in the latter part of the century.

Among the visitors from England there are a goodly number of clerics styled "students" or "scholars." Probably these were clerks in Holy Orders, who at that time were the holders of benefices with a licence to go abroad to study. We find in the lists, for instance, John Dawson, described as a scholar of Lancaster; John Lombard as a scholar of Lincoln, and others. There are some rather curious entries. For example: in January 1505 there came to the Hospice a child of twelve years who, as the record has it, "because he arrived nearly half dead remained until the middle of May." In March of the same year, one John Rawlin, an English sailor, asked for help and shelter. He had been seriously wounded by robbers and was "half dead." He remained for thirty-six days "to the great burden of the Hospital." There were in this period a great many priests, visitors from the English dioceses, and monks and friars of all colours found their way to Rome in the early years of the sixteenth century. In March 1505, for instance, no fewer than twelve priests of the diocese of Norwich arrived in a body. In May of the same year, the names of the Captain and ten sailors from the vessel *Anne Clark* are entered in the record as having been entertained at the Hospice. Again in October, five sailors of the Royal Navy and, in December, three of the ship *Thomas* of London were guests of the Fraternity of St. Thomas the Martyr.

To take one or two other instances of interesting items from these records: in 1506 a Welshman arrived at the Hospice and claimed help. He was very unwell, and remained so for sixteen days, and, says the record, "being unable to speak any other language but Welsh, the Hospice was burdened with a Welsh interpreter to wait upon him." On May 14, 1506, there arrived in Rome Dr. Henry Standish, Provincial of the Minorites of England, accompanied by Dr. Thomas Draper and Dr. John Warner, Prior of the Bedford house of the Order. Dr. Standish was later utilised

by Henry VIII in the suppression of the monasteries, and subsequently became Bishop of St. Asaph and the Consecrator of Archbishop Cranmer.

To sum up the history of the English Hospital during this period, it may be sufficient to say, that until the defection of Henry VIII from the Church, the Institution grew steadily in wealth and national importance. The officials during the fifteenth century were men of merit and distinction, and the Hospice was frequently, if not generally, the residence of the English Ambassador to the Pope. The administration appears to have been wise; and a vigilant care was exercised in watching over the trust reposed in the officials. At the same time it is evident that those in charge extended the charity of the establishment with a generous and impartial hand to the pilgrims and the sick of the English nation.

In 1412 the Hospital was rebuilt, and in 1445 the new Church of the Blessed Trinity and St. Thomas was consecrated, and received many privileges from Pope Eugenius IV. Amongst others it was granted the extra-parochial rights of a cemetery for the English as were given to the old *Schola Anglorum*. Donations from many people of distinction continued to be recorded. The Duchess of York, for instance, presented a superb chalice, candelabra and salvers of silver weighing 176 ounces. Among the officials, besides those already named, are to be found Adam Apollyns, afterwards Bishop of Chichester; Christopher Urswick, afterwards Ambassador to France, Dean of Windsor, Recorder of London, etc.; Dr. Walter Grey and Dr. Hannibal.

The Hospice under Changed Conditions

From the date of its foundation, about the middle of the fourteenth century, till towards the close of the fifteenth, the Hospital was governed by a Custos and two Councillors elected annually at a meeting of the Fraternity. It had gradually assumed a position of national importance. For its support it depended not only on its revenues from Roman properties—lands and houses—but on money which was freely subscribed for the purpose in England;

and it became the recognised centre of English influence in the Eternal City. The Royal Envoys and the Proctors of the English Kings in Rome were in close connection with the Institution, often as distinguished members of the Fraternity, sometimes as occupying one or other of the houses which belonged to it in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hospice, and in some instances even holding the position of officials governing it.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the English King intervened personally in the affairs of the establishment. In 1486 and again in 1498, Henry VII addressed letters to the officials ruling it at the time, by the hands of his Ambassador, Dr Robert Sherborne, then Dean of St. Paul's, London, asking for information as to the management and general status of the English Hospital, etc.

The first of these was dated from Westminster, on January 29, 1486, and was to the following effect :—

" Henry by the Grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to the honourable guardians of the property of our Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr in the City of Rome, and to the brethren of the said place, Salutation.

" By the letters of the Right Revd Lord [Cardinal Archbishop] of Siena,[1] the Protector of our Kingdom, and of our Lord John de Giglis, our Ambassador, we have understood that the English Hospice in the City of Rome is so very honourably endowed that, besides the usual officials, who devoting themselves to divine and literary studies now govern it to the glory of God and to our honour and that of our Kingdom, its revenues can fully maintain it in as fitting a manner as the Hospices of other nations established in Rome.

" We, therefore, desiring to increase and assist the work for God from Whom all good things come, everywhere but in a particular manner in this beloved city, order and exhort all and each of you severally that, for the happy preservation of this state, you strictly observe and cause to be observed by others, the Statutes drawn up after the

[1] This was Francis Tedeschini Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius III, who was created Cardinal by his uncle Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, then Pope Pius II.

mature deliberation of the brethren, by Robert Sherborn, our Orator. These Statutes are made for the Hospice, by our Ambassador and are intended for all time. And lest our commands, which we are unwilling to think possible, be set at nought, We order this present letter to be inscribed in the Official Book of the Hospice, that in the future no one may be able to plead ignorance of these our commands. Should you become acquainted with any one who disregards this injunction, we desire that you make known his name to Us and thus give satisfaction to God and to Us.

"From our Palace by Westminster, 29 January, 1486."

This letter is attested by the signatures of Jo. de Giglis, Regis Orator; Edwardus Scott predicte Hospitalis Camerarius, manu propria; Frater Franciscus ejusdem Hosp. Cappellanus, manu propria: Thomas Lasenby, Confrater Hospit. supradicte, manu propria.

The Popes did not cease to manifest their interest in the Hospice of the English, and in 1497 Alexander VI issued a bull in confirmation of all the privileges previously granted by his predecessors and taking the Institution under his special protection.[1]

To a second letter the officers replied on the 20th of January, 1499, to the royal request. They fully acknowledged that the Institution was not a private charity, but a national establishment. They claimed that the property and funds received for its support were administered with every care as the King's royal Hospice. They informed him that the accounts were well and carefully kept, and preserved in the archives of the Institution, and they express their satisfaction at receiving his demand for information, as an evidence of his interest and care for "Your Hospital." They conclude by expressing the hope that "Your Hospice, most Illustrious Prince, may ever be a safe refuge and sure help to all Your English subjects," and they earnestly commend it to his royal care.[2]

A few years later—in 1504—the same Ambassador, Dr. Robert Sherborne, came again to Rome to offer the obedience of the English King to Pope Julius II on his

[1] *Memb.*, Dec. 7, 1493 (original bull). [2] Lib. 17, f. 90.

Monument to Archbishop Bainbridge

[To face p. 49.

accession to the Pontifical throne. At this visit most of the business of the legation was thrown upon the officials of the English Hospital, with the result that their time being so fully occupied the accounts of the Institution were thrown into arrear, and the elections of officials could not be held until after the departure of the English Ambassadors. Immediately after this, moreover, the existing Custos of the Hospital was taken ill and died on the 25th of July; the place remaining without a governor till November and being temporarily administered by the then chaplain, Dr. John Allen.

This irregular state of affairs was brought to the immediate notice of the King. He, seeing, as he says, what difficulties and misfortunes might arise from similar circumstances, and indeed from any election made merely by the English present in Rome, who often at this time were only few in number, called together some of the chief members of the Fraternity in England to have their advice as to what was best to be done for the greater good of the place. As a result, he determined that thenceforth the Governor or Custos of the English Hospital in Rome should be appointed by the Crown. To carry this decision into effect royal letters were dispatched to Dr. Sherborne, the Ambassador, appointing him to the office. In his turn Dr. Sherborne nominated Dr. Inge, whose name has already been noted, and who was then English Penitentiary of the Pope in Rome, to be Vice-Guardian. This appointment, on the advice of the brethren of St. Thomas's Hospital resident in England, was subsequently confirmed by the King.[1] It would appear that about this time, or a little later, it was ordained that the books and accounts of the Hospice should be regularly sent to England for the King's inspection and approval.

Dr. Hugh Inge held the office to which he had been nominated for four or five years, and subsequently became Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland. In 1509 Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, came to Rome, as the representative of King Henry VIII, and in the following year was made Custos of the English Hospice, naming a commissary to take the active superintendence

[1] *Lib. Instr.*, i. f. 12.

of the Institution in his place. In 1511 Bainbridge was created Cardinal, but in 1514 he died, being poisoned by an Italian steward. He was buried in the Church of the Hospice and his monumental effigy is still preserved in the English College.

On Cardinal Bainbridge's elevation to the sacred purple, Dr. Richard Pace was appointed Guardian in 1512. He was one of the most illustrious diplomatists of his day, and his dispatches from 1514 to 1524 form no inconsiderable a portion of the English political correspondence of the period. Whilst in Rome he was actively engaged in promoting the election of his master, King Henry VIII, to the Empire, and of Cardinal Wolsey to the Papacy. Pace was succeeded as Custos in 1513 by Dr. Thomas Halsey,[1] who was subsequently promoted to the see of Leighlin in Ireland. In 1514 a Dr. John Bell held the office. He had been a scholar of Balliol College, Oxford, and he was sent out to Rome by the King of England to explain the royal point of view in regard to the Divorce question. After holding various English preferments he was rewarded for his efforts in Rome with the see of Worcester. He is said to have been a very learned scholar, but not very loyal to Catholic principles. Again, in 1519, the office of Governor or Custos of the Hospice was given to Dr. Silvester Giglis, Bishop of Worcester and then Ambassador of the English King in Rome. An interesting old tombstone, still existing, records the fact that Bishop Giglis, when Ambassador of England and Custos of the Hospice, erected it to the memory of Dom John Weddisbury, O.S.B., Prior of Worcester, who died August 23, 1518, when on a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Apostles. From 1522 to 1524 another royal Ambassador to the Holy See held the office. This was Dr. Thomas Hannibal, who had taken his degree in Laws at both Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and had been created Master of the Rolls.

These instances will be sufficient to show that the English King at this period freely exercised the right he had assumed of appointing the head of the English Hospice

[1] Probably the same who came as a student from Bologna in 1504, and whose name stands first on the roll of Pilgrims in that year.

THE MONUMENT TO BP. JOHN CLERK

[*To face p.* 51.

in Rome. Frequently the appointments were made evidently in reward for services rendered to the Crown, and several of the Ambassadors to the Pope are amongst those who, at least nominally, presided over the fortunes of the Institution. Of these one interesting personality is John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who took over the office of Guardian in 1523. In the year 1521 he was sent to Rome by King Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey, in order to present to Pope Leo X Henry's work on the Seven Sacraments against Luther, written for him as is commonly believed by Bishop John Fisher, the Martyr. The Envoy was received by the Pope in full Consistory on Wednesday, October 2, and spoke his oration in the presence of His Holiness, the Cardinals and all the Ambassadors of Europe.

The theme of Bishop Clerk's speech was a declaration of the historic loyalty of England to the Roman Church. In the course of it he said: "Of other nationalities let others speak; but assuredly my Britain—my England, as in later times she has been called, has never yielded to any nearer nation; no, not even to Rome itself, in the service of God, in the Christian faith and in the obedience due to the Most Holy Roman Church; even as there is no nation, which more opposes, more condemns, more loathes this monster (*i. e.* Lutheranism) and the heresies which spring from it."

Bishop Clerk held the office of Custos or Governor of the English Hospice for two years. He came again to Rome in 1527, when Dr. Richard Shirley governed the Institution as his commissary, and he was taken ill at Dunkirk in 1540 on returning from an Embassy to Germany. He, however, reached England, and dying in London, was buried in St. Botolph's, Aldgate. A stone was erected to his memory by the Societas Anglica in Rome, in the church of the Hospice, and it is still preserved among the relics, saved from the ruins of the ancient buildings. By his will Bishop Clerk left to the Hospice a mitre adorned with precious stones, said to have been worth fifty guineas.

The year 1527 was a time of dire disaster in Rome during which the English Hospital suffered greatly. On May 5 the Imperial army, under the Constable Bourbon, reached

the walls of the city with the avowed intention of sacking it. It seems to be probable that the Landsknechte, a very large proportion of whom were Lutherans, had got completely out of hand, and that practically they forced their commander to lead them against the city of the Popes. Clement VII was unprepared for this sudden attack, and confiding in the truce he had just concluded with the Imperial commissioners, had left the defences of Rome almost unprotected. The attack came without warning, and the Pope had only time to seek refuge in the Castle of Sant' Angelo, when the enemy entered the city. For eight days, the "Sack of Rome" continued unchecked, and horrors almost without parallel in history were witnessed in its streets. An impartial authority has thus described this terrible disaster: "The Lutherans rejoiced to burn and to defile what all the world adored. Churches were desecrated, women, even the religious, were violated, Ambassadors pillaged, Cardinals put to ransom, ecclesiastical dignitaries and ceremonies made a mockery, and the soldiers fought amongst themselves for the spoil."[1] For more than seven months Pope Clement VII remained virtually a prisoner in the Castle of Sant' Angelo.

A recent writer, Mr. J. W. Gerard, formerly American Ambassador in Berlin until America broke off relations with Germany, writes of this sack of Rome: "There is no more horrible event in all history than that of the sack of Rome by the German mercenaries in the year 1527.

"The most awful outrages were perpetrated. Prelates were tortured after being paraded through the streets of the Eternal City, dressed in their sacred pontificals and mounted on donkeys. Altars were defiled, sacred images broken, vestments and services and works of art taken from the plundered churches and sacred relics insulted, broken and scattered. For nine months the orgy continued, the inhabitants being tortured by these German soldiers in their effort to find hidden treasure. In fact conditions in Belgium to-day had their counterpart centuries ago in the treatment of Roman Catholic priests and the people of Rome."

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 55.

During these terrible excesses, as may readily be supposed, the English foundation of St. Thomas and St. Edmund suffered in common with the other sanctuaries and buildings in the Eternal City. One record in the Archives of the English College proves that the damage to the Institution was considerable, and the catastrophe is also marked by the entire absence of accounts and inventories for the years 1527 to 1538. Apparently also, no election of officials was held in the fatal year 1527, and from the following year till 1537, for purposes no doubt of reconstruction, the Hospice remained under the care of the same official, one John Borowbridge. As already noted, this Guardian was accused of allowing the Hospice to get into debt in 1528; but, as he remained in office during these critical years till 1537, apparently he must have been able to defend himself; and it is easy to understand how the accounts may have been in disorder for some time after the sack of the city and the destruction wrought in the Hospice. In 1530 Pope Clement VII issued a bull in favour of the Institution granting special Indulgences to all who would help in restoring the church, which, "in the sack of the city by the Bourbon had lost all its altar plate, together with other property and papers." [1]

The defection of the English King from the Church, naturally changed the status of the English Hospice in Rome. One large source of revenue—the contributions collected in England for its support—were immediately cut off, and the constant flow of pilgrims came to an end at least for a time. From the date of the breach with the Holy See, the Hospice in Rome became for many years rather a refuge for exiles for the Faith than a hospital for the poor, the sick and travellers. The appointment of the Guardian of the Institution, no longer exercised by the King of England, passed to the Holy See. In 1538 it was represented to Pope Paul III that, as most of the members of the Fraternity were either dead or had disappeared, there was a real danger of the Institution becoming a sinecure benefice and of thus being lost to the English nation. He recognised this, and to prevent it, on March 8, 1538,

[1] *Memb.*, May 3, 1530.

issued a bull confirming the election of certain Englishmen in Rome as brethren of the Hospice, and appointing Cardinal Pole as the Custos or Guardian.[1]

The Cardinal governed the Institute by a Commissary, and in 1540 his secretary, Michael Throckmorton, held this office and was succeeded the following year by Dr. Thomas Goldwell,[2] who was at that time (1541) living in Rome with Cardinal Pole, having followed his master when he escaped out of England and having been attainted with him in 1539. Goldwell was afterwards made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1555, at the nomination of Queen Mary. Subsequently he attended Cardinal Pole on his deathbed, and escaped to the Continent, when the religious changes under Queen Elizabeth made it obvious that he must choose between the acceptance of the principles of the Reformation, or exile for conscience' sake. Goldwell was the only English Bishop who was present at the Council of Trent in 1562, in which year he was attainted for the second time by the English Parliament. He became for a time Vicar-General to St. Charles Borromeo, and in 1574 was named Vicegerent of Rome.

In 1544, the office of Custos was given to one, who is described as William, Bishop of Salisbury. This was the famous Franciscan Friar, William Peto, who was Provincial of the Observant Friars in England at the time when the thorny question of Henry's Divorce became acute. He was exiled, or more probably escaped abroad after his well-known sermon preached in Henry's presence at Greenwich He found his way to Rome and was there welcomed by Cardinal Pole to the Hospice. In 1543, Peto was created by the Pope, in a Consistory of March 30, Bishop of Salisbury.[3] In March 1544, on his appointment by the Pope as Custos of the English Hospice, he is described as " bishop elect of Salisbury," [4] and he was probably consecrated between that date and September 1545, when he is styled " Bishop of Salisbury." [5]

Bishop Peto continued in the office of Custos till 1553,

[1] *Lib. Instr.*, iv. p. 370. [2] *Memb.*, March 15, 1541.
[3] See Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, ii. p. 290.
[4] *Memb.*, March 28, 1544. [5] *Memb.*, Sept. 11, 1545.

CARDINAL POLE
(Sebastiano del Piombino)

[*To face p.* 54.

but his creation as Bishop of Salisbury was, of course, not recognised by Henry VIII, nor apparently, as it would seem, by Queen Mary. In 1557 he was created Cardinal priest by Pope Paul IV and was nominated Legate to England in succession to Cardinal Pole. He was, however, stopped at Calais on his way and prohibited from entering England by Queen Mary. When at last, as the result of negotiations, he was allowed to enter the country, he was taken seriously ill at Canterbury and died immediately.

In 1544 Bishop Peto, on his nomination as Custos of the Hospice, appointed as his Commissary Dr. Richard Hilyard, who is another interesting personality to find connected with the English Hospice. He also was an exile from his country for his religious convictions, having compromised himself with the English King by going about the Yorkshire monasteries in 1536, urging the religious to resist the suppression of their houses, and to refuse to surrender their trusts at the King's bidding. His arrest was ordered, but he escaped into Scotland and thence to the Continent. At one time, whilst in Rome, he must have written a History of the Divorce of Henry VIII, which was apparently at the English College when Fr. Parsons published the Roman edition of Sander's *Schism*, as he quotes passages from it. Unfortunately it cannot now be found in the archives.

Dr. Hilyard was succeeded in 1545 by Dr. Goldwell for the second time, and he continued in office till 1548. In this year Cardinal Pole was again appointed by the Pope Custos of the Hospice, and he reappointed Dr. Goldwell as his Commissary[1] for some years. The Cardinal's account book[2] for the years 1548 to 1559 still exists, and it affords many interesting particulars in regard to the management of the Institution. The volume has for its frontispiece an illumination of the Holy Trinity with SS. Thomas and Edmund, similar to that of Bishop Clerk's book, already spoken of above. From the accounts for 1548, it appears that those living in the Hospice were Bishop Peto, who had two servants; Dr. Goldwell, who had one, and who was then Commissary of the Cardinal, and the two Councillors, Dr.

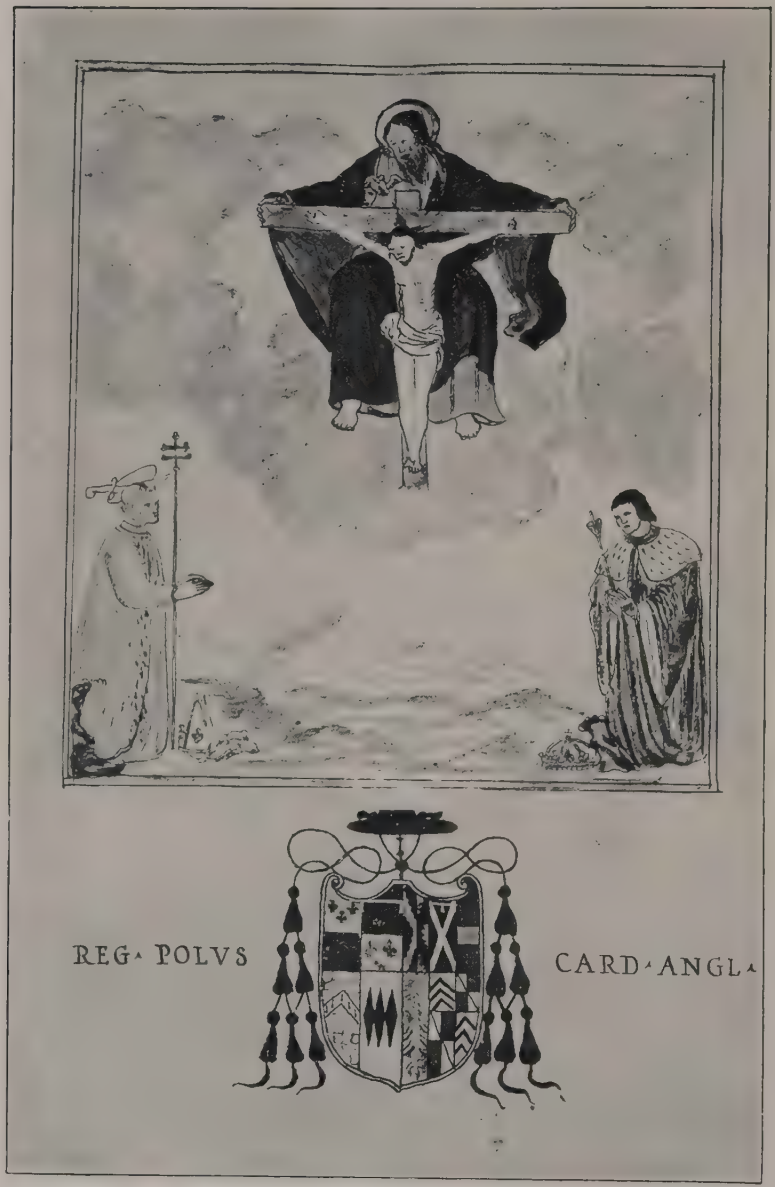
[1] *Memb.*, July 6, 1548. [2] Lib. 23.

Richard Hilyard and George Lilly. The latter has already been mentioned, and at this time he was one of Pole's chaplains. He was made a Canon of Canterbury in 1558, and died the following year. Besides these, Cardinal Pole's secretary, Michael Throckmorton, also had quarters in the Hospital.

The following year, 1549, another chaplain of the Cardinal, Henry Pynings, was Councillor of the house together with George Lilly. At the end of this year, a note in the accounts states that on December 3 "the Lord Bishop of Salisbury (Peto) left the Hospice for the Hospital of S. Brigida," being ill, and for the curious reason "propter inceptum conclave," the Hospice paying for him and two priests with him. Perhaps the reason for his departure "because of the Conclave," is partially explained by a note of December 5, two days later, when it is said: "to-day we were compelled to receive soldiers to defend the house on rumours of the election of the Pontiff."

The election here referred to was that of Cardinal del Monte, after a long Conclave, extending from November 29, 1549, to February 8, 1550, when he took the name of Pope Julius III. What specially affected the English Hospice was that its Custos, Cardinal Pole, was very nearly elected Pope on the 5th of December, on which, according to the above note, the Hospice received a guard of soldiers, "on rumours of the election of the Pontiff." We know all the facts of this election from an important historical document, which no doubt in order to preserve it has been inserted in the *Liber Ruber* of the English College.[1] This document was printed in 1909 by Mgr. Cronin,[2] then Vice-Rector of the Venerabile. From his study of the paper he has been able to show that these notes of the Conclave were made by Bishop Goldwell, who had accompanied Cardinal Pole as Conclavist, and who remained intimately attached to the College, as we shall have occasion to see in the sequel. These notes record the numbers of votes received by Pole at each of the various scrutinies. In the first voting, on December 3, Cardinal Pole had the greatest number of votes, namely twenty-one; and on the third day—the 5th of

[1] *Archives*, lib. 303. [2] In *Rome*, August 21, 1909.



CARDINAL POLE'S BOOK OF ACCOUNTS

[*To face p* 57.

December—he was only two votes short of the required two-thirds of the Cardinals present, and they proposed to elect him by "adoration." This, however, Pole refused to allow, but he continued to the end to receive more than twenty votes of the assembled Cardinals. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it was the rumour in Rome that the English Cardinal, Reginald Pole, had been elected to fill the Papal throne, which caused the Hospice to be guarded by soldiers on December 5, 1549, as recorded in the old account book.

In 1550 at Cardinal Pole's orders there was buried in the Church of the English Hospice, Marcantonio Flaminio, the celebrated humanist scholar. Of this great Latinist, the Bishop of Clifton writes: "In Mancurti's Life of Marcantonio Flaminio (1498–1550), prefixed to the complete edition of the latter's Latin poems (Padua, 1743), it is stated that the poet was buried the day after his death in the Church of the English nation by order of Cardinal Pole, whom he had entrusted with the management of all he had. Few of the poets of the Renaissance vie with him in elegance, simplicity, and tenderness, and his life was without reproach. Leo X was much delighted with him as a boy, Paul III offered to make him secretary of the Council of Trent, and Paul IV, then Cardinal Caraffa, aided him in his last moments. He was long a member of the household of Cardinal Pole, who treasured his portrait after his death."

At this time another chaplain of Cardinal Pole found his way to Rome in the person of Dr. Seth Holland, who became Counsellor or Auditor of the Hospice. He returned to England when Queen Mary came to the throne, and became Dean of Worcester in 1557. He remained staunch to the old religion in the days of Elizabeth and died in prison.

With the return of England to Catholic unity, whilst many of the refugees for religious motives in the two previous reigns returned to their country, the account book of Cardinal Pole's administration shows that pilgrims and travellers to Rome began again to seek the hospitality of the old English Hospice. In 1553, for example, it is noted that "now eight, now ten, now twelve persons are being received

as strangers." On September 27 of that year the coming of an "English musician" is recorded, and on his departure on October 15, he is described as "the English Organist." Unfortunately his name is not given. In this same month of October 1553, a note in the margin of this volume states that "a jubilee is granted on the 29th for the good result of English affairs."

One or two items, from the accounts for the year 1555, may be here noted as showing how matters of some interest lie buried in the old books of the English College, awaiting discovery by some one who will have the time and the patience to search for them. On Saturday, March 23, 1555, for example, it is recorded that "to-day died the Supreme Pontiff, Julius III": on the 1st of April, the Conclave is said to have begun, and on the 10th, "the creation and coronation" of Pope Marcellus is noted down by the accountant. On the 31st of May, there arrived at the Hospice the Steward and a considerable part of the suite of the English Ambassadors, and on the 5th of June, the Ambassadors of Queen Mary made a solemn entry into the city. On the Sunday following, June 9, which was in that year Trinity Sunday, the English in Rome and many others were invited to meet the Ambassadors who were apparently staying at the Hospice.

Bishop Goldwell left Rome for England to take up the charge of his diocese of St. Asaph in 1555, and the then Ambassador of Queen Mary, Sir Edward Carne, was nominated by the Queen as his successor in the office of Custos of the Hospital. This appointment was confirmed by Pope Paul IV;[1] but Bishop Goldwell flying from persecution, came to Rome once more an exile, in 1561, and returned to the Hospice. From that time he continued to reside there; two rooms in subsequent accounts being called "My Lord of Asaph's chambers." Before the Bishop's return, however, in 1560, the Pope, Pius IV, whilst confirming the Ordinances for the government of the Institution made by Paul III, relieved Sir Edward Carne of his office of Custos.[2]

When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne, and the Elizabethan settlement of religion was imposed upon the

[1] *Memb.*, April 24, 1560. [2] *Memb.*, April 24, 1560.

English nation, the Hospice in Rome once more came to be a place of refuge for some of the Catholic clergy, who were able to escape to the Continent from the religious persecution. With Bishop Goldwell, there arrived in Rome two of the Welsh clergy, like him exiles for their religion, namely Dr. Maurice Clagnòg, or Clenock, and Dr. Griffith Roberts Dr. Clenock had been nominated, just before the death of Queen Mary, to the Bishopric of Bangor, and he immediately appointed his friend Griffith Roberts to the Archdeaconry of Anglesey. Queen Elizabeth's religious settlement suspended the appointments, and forced the two friends to leave England. Dr. Griffith Roberts, like Clenock, was a member of Christ Church, Oxford, and a very distinguished Welsh scholar. On coming to Rome he took up his quarters in the English Hospice, and in 1564 was one of the chaplains of the establishment, which was then ruled by the exiled Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Goldwell, as Custos. After the death of Pope Pius IV in 1565, Dr. Roberts went with St. Charles Borromeo to Milan, where he lived for many years as the friend, counsellor and confessor of the saintly Archbishop. In 1565, the Custos or Guardian of the English Institution was the above-named Dr. Maurice Clenock, the Welshman. He had been a chaplain to Cardinal Pole. On leaving England he apparently found his way immediately to Rome, where he remained either as a lodger, Custos or Councillor of the Hospice until, in 1578, the Institution was erected into the English College, of which he became the first Rector.

From the Inventory of 1565 [1] and the following years, it is seen that, when Dr. Maurice Clenock first became the Custos in that year, the following refugee Marian priests were also living in the Hospice: Edward Tailer, William Giblet, Henry Henshaw, Henry Alwaye [2] or Alwayt, Edward Ampart, Robert Talacre, Edward Daniel, Mr. Gressope, William Knott, John Seton, Thomas Kirton, Sir John Neville, Robert Grapham, Nicholas Morton, Thomas Crane, Sir Edward Carne, and John and Richard Barnard.

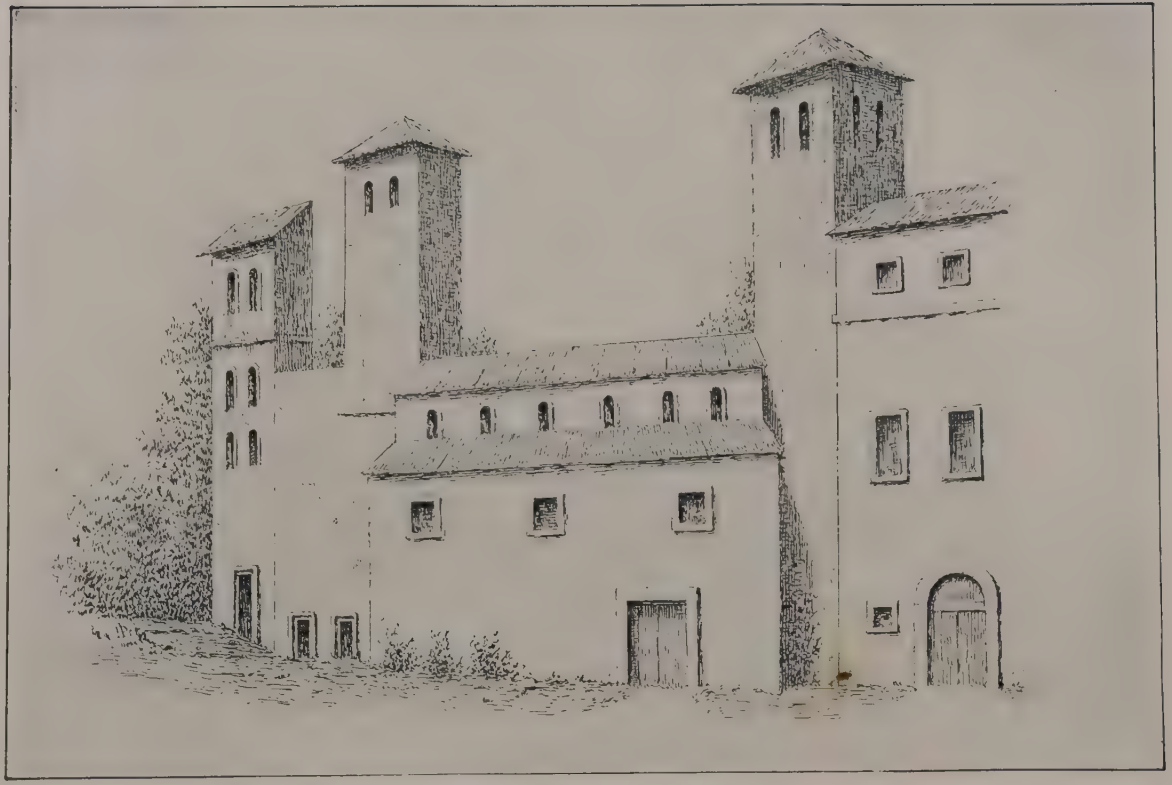
[1] Lib. 33, f. 25.

[2] Henry Alwaye was in 1559 one of the chaplains of the Countess of Feria, and as such obtained a passport to leave England.

Many of these names can be recognised as those of men holding ecclesiastical positions in England before the change of religion. For instance, William Giblet in his will, made in 1590, describes himself as an exiled English priest: Henry Henshaw was a Fellow of Lincoln College and Rector of Merton College, Oxford, which office he resigned in 1560, and crossed to the Continent to obtain freedom of conscience: Edmund Daniel was Dean of Hereford and, in giving evidence in Rome at an enquiry held in 1570 to determine the religious opinions of Queen Elizabeth, declared that he himself had been present when that Queen forbade the Elevation of the Sacred Host in the Mass. Dr. John Seton had been a Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, and had been chaplain to Blessed John Fisher, and after him to Bishop Gardiner of Winchester: Nicholas Morton was a graduate and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and he took his D.D. in Rome in 1554. He returned to England in Mary's reign, but fled abroad in the early days of Elizabeth, when it became obvious that her religious position would once more sever the country from the unity of the Faith.

A curious document, printed by Maziere Brady[1] seems to show that the English Hospice, even in the reign of Elizabeth, was regarded as the centre of English interests in Rome, and as the place to which even Protestants would naturally turn for help in any difficulty. The paper states that, in 1564, Bishop Goldwell and thirteen priests living in the English Hospice, were called upon to testify to the character and position of Sir Richard Sackville and his son Thomas. The former was a first cousin of Anne Boleyn, and the priests of the Hospice are therefore correct in testifying to his connection with royalty. The son, Thomas, became first Earl of Dorset in 1567, three years after the date of this curious document. He was a man of considerable literary attainments, and these priests were thus called upon to testify to the respectability and position of these relatives of the Queen, who had driven them from their own country to seek for liberty of conscience in Rome, and of one who subsequently had officially to announce to

[1] *Episcopal Succession*, i. p. 87.



THE OLD ENGLISH HOSPICE
(Enlarged by the Rt. Rev. Abbot Janssens)

[*To face p.* 61.

Mary Queen of Scots the sentence of death passed upon her.

From the year 1565 to the erection of the Hospice into the English College in 1578 the office of Custos was held in turn by many of the exiled priests. Dr. Clenock was succeeded in 1566 by Henry Henshaw, the old Rector of Merton College, Oxford. He was succeeded the following year by Edward Tailer, with Mr. Henshaw and Dr. Clenock as the two Councillors. In 1568, Thomas Kirton with Dr. Morton, the Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dr. Daniel, the exiled Dean of Hereford, were the officials elected, and they were re-elected for a year or so as either Governors or Councillors. In 1576 the name of Alan Cope [1] appears for the first time in the list of those having rooms in the Hospice, and he became one of the two Councillors in 1577, remaining in office the following year. Alan Cope was a well-known writer. When he died in 1579 he left his books to the English College. Some of these volumes inscribed with his name are still on the shelves of the College Library. For his soul an annual Mass was said in the College Church on June 16, his anniversary.

The inventories, given in the old book of accounts for the years 1523 to 1578, contain much that is of archæological interest. Some items of information have already been quoted. To these may be added one or two not uninteresting facts. In 1569, besides the rooms occupied by the exiled priests living in the Hospice, there were chambers set apart for *nobiles* and for *pauperes*. Among the church books, there were several Missals of the Sarum rite. Two were apparently Grayles, "de musica fracta,"—"with masses, hymns, etc.,"—"as well as four other missals for singing." In 1576, the Inventory notes the possession of "two new Roman Breviaries in 4to ex typis Plantine" and "Missale pulchrum ejusdem Plantine in folio," the gift of Sir Thomas Englefield.

[1] Alan Cope appears in a list of 1579 as in receipt of a pension of forty florins a year from the Spanish Crown as a pensioner of the Duchess Feria.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

THE two names which must always be associated with the foundation of the Venerable English College in Rome are those of Dr. Owen Lewis and Dr. William Allen. Dr. Lewis had been a scholar of Winchester and a graduate of New College, Oxford. At the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth he was forced to exile himself from England for conscience' sake. He took up his abode at Douay and became Regius Professor of Law at the University and subsequently Archdeacon of Cambray. He fully entered into the views of Dr. William Allen, and helped him in the establishment of the Seminary for the training of priests for the English Mission. Dr. Owen Lewis was a man of sound learning and possessed considerable influence with ecclesiastics of all ranks. The Archbishop of Cambray sent him to Rome to act as his Proctor in some business, and remaining in the Eternal City, he obtained the confidence of the Pope and of Cardinal Morone, the Cardinal Protector of the English nation. He lodged at the old English Hospice, which he found at that time was serving mainly as a refuge for exiled priests. Feeling keenly like Dr. Allen the need for missionary priests in England, he came to the conclusion "that it would be of great service to England and the Church, if some youths could be lodged with the Chaplains of the English Hospice in order to devote themselves to study, since the chaplains although pious were old and not addicted to studies of any kind." [1]

The Pope, to whom he explained his scheme in conjunction with Dr. Allen, then on one of his visits to Rome, fully entered into it, and desired to have students sent by

[1] MS. Vatican 3494 (written A.D. 1582).

Dr. Allen from Douay and elsewhere, who should be supported out of the revenues of the old Hospital, which were left after the maintenance of the Chaplains and the poor had been secured. As it at once became evident, however, that this residue would not support many scholars, the Pope determined to help the scheme out of his own purse, and set apart also some houses in the vicinity of St. Peter's for the reception of the scholars expected from Douay. In these houses, apparently even before the arrival of the youths expected from Dr. Allen's seminary in Flanders, Dr. Owen Lewis gathered together such young Englishmen as he found in Rome at the time who desired to embrace the clerical state.[1]

This first beginning must have been sometime about 1575, since after Dr. Allen's visit to Rome in 1576, the further project of utilising the old Hospice and its revenues was practically decided upon by the Holy Father. It was almost certainly Dr. Lewis who suggested the placing of this nucleus of the English Seminary near St. Peter's under the care of Dr. Maurice Clenock, a Welshman like himself and his very good friend.

Clenock at this time had been connected with the Hospice in Rome for many years, and had held various offices in the establishment since he was first elected Custos or Warden in 1565.[2] On the 26th of May, 1576, in which year, as already pointed out, the first beginnings of the English Seminary were made in some houses near St. Peter's, Dr. Clenock was again chosen Warden of the Hospital, and he held that office also the next year. When, therefore, the more ambitious project of taking over the buildings of the old Hospital and utilising them for the students expected from Douay was placed before the Pope by Dr. Owen Lewis, his friend Dr. Clenock, as Warden of the Hospice, was naturally the man who could assist the scheme or impede it. He was the master of the house, and some of the students who first arrived in Rome from Douay were lodged in the old English Hospice itself. In this second year of Dr. Clenock's office as Warden—1577—rooms are found assigned in the

[1] *Acts of Visit.*, 1738–9, Art. 1.
[2] *Archives*, lib. 33, p. 63.

old account book [1] of the establishment to Mr. Askew, Mr. Ball, Mr. Holt, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Mush—all of whom according to the *Douay Diaries* were at this time sent off by Dr. Allen to begin their work in Rome as students.

Dr. Allen, so intimately connected with the beginning of the College, is of course the well-known founder of the Seminaries of Douay and Rheims, the future Cardinal. He had been an Oxford man, a Fellow of Oriel and Principal of St. Mary's Hall. His zeal for the Faith and his Catholic spirit made it impossible for him to accept Elizabeth's religious settlement, and so going abroad in 1561 he settled at Louvain. In 1567 he came to Rome as a pilgrim, where he found many English refugee priests living in the old English Hospice, with Dr. Edmund Taylour as Warden and Clenock and Henshaw as Councillors. Returning to the Low Countries, and being impressed with the instant need of priests in England, with the help of many eminent divines he commenced the Seminary at Douay in 1568. When the project of establishing a similar College in Rome seemed likely to succeed, he came to Rome and agreed, at the Pope's request, to send some Douay students to begin the work. In the year 1577, immediately upon Allen's return home, ten of these started for Rome. Their names as given in the *Douay Diaries* are William Holt, Martin Array, Edward Rishton, Ralph Sherwin already priests, and John Askew and William Harrison deacons; with Thomas Bell, John Mush and John Lowe unordained students.

Shortly after the first *alumni* had left Douay, the eminent scholar Dr. Gregory Martin set out also for Rome to help, as the writer of the *Douay Diary* remarks, the new Establishment "tam adjumento quum ornamento." On his arrival in Rome, Dr. Martin was elected one of the Chaplains of the old Hospice and was lodged there.[2] Certainly his name is one that honours the old place by being connected with it, although his stay was only brief. He was a scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, taking his degree of M.A. in 1565. In 1570 for conscience' sake he fled abroad, and coming to Douay and being ordained in 1573, he was

[1] I. pp. 26–7.

[2] *Archives*, lib. 33, Account Book 1577.

appointed lecturer in the University on Hebrew and Holy Scripture.

Of the ten students who in this first year came to Rome, the first to be sent to England as a missionary priest was John Askew, who had come from Douay as a deacon. He was the first priest to be ordained at the College, and he left in 1579—"primus ex Anglorum Collegio de Urbe."[1] The *Annual Letters of the English College*[2] has the following entry in regard to him: "May.—During the same year (1579) in the month of May, we sent from this College into England the Rev. John Askew, an English priest and divine. The Rector took him to Tusculum, where he was most graciously received by His Holiness, who besides granting him several indulgences and pious gifts, furnished him with funds for his journey. This is the first labourer our College has sent into the English vineyard."

It will be of interest to set down what happened in regard to the rest of the first students who came from Douay and became the foundation stones of the Roman College. Fr. William Holt joined the Society of Jesus and became the Rector of the College in 1586. Martin Array departed for the English Mission in 1580, and having suffered imprisonment for his faith, at length "had favour to be banished." Edward Rishton went to England in the same year, 1580, and being captured as a seminary priest, was tried and condemned to death at the same time as Fr. Edmund Campion. He was, however, reprieved and banished. He wrote the valuable "Diary of Events in the Tower of London," the supplement to the Roman edition of Sander's *History of the English Schism*.

The next in order, Fr. Ralph Sherwin, became the protomartyr of the English College, being executed for his religion with Fathers Campion and Briant at Tyburn in 1581. William Harrison, who came to Rome as a deacon, went to England in 1581 with forty-six other missionary priests, thirteen of whom subsequently suffered martyrdom. He himself escaped with his life, but is said to have been imprisoned for his faith. Thomas Bell was originally a convert to the Faith, and having been ordained in Rome, left for

[1] *Douay Diaries*, i. p. 26. [2] Foley, *Records*, etc., vi. p. 67.

England in 1582. He was seized on landing in the country, and after enduring much in prison, unhappily fell away and became a Government spy and a bitter anti-Catholic controversialist. His companion, John Mush, reached England in 1583. He worked strenuously in the north of England, and was regarded as a prudent and learned man. He wrote several controversial books, including one against the apostate Bell, his old companion in Rome. Finally John Lowe, having been ordained priest by Bishop Goldwell in 1582, left for the Mission the following year. He received the martyr's crown at Tyburn on October 8, 1586.

But to return to the story of the early beginnings of the College. The first colony dispatched by Dr. Allen from Douay was added to in 1577 and in the following year, 1578, until by May 26 of the latter year Dr. Gregory Martin was able to write from Rome saying, that twenty-six theological students from Douay were living either in the Hospice or in the house next door, with which there is internal communication. He adds: "two fathers of your society (Jesuits) are there by command of the Pontiff and at the request of Cardinal Morone, the Protector. They superintend the studies and the foundations of the new establishment may be considered to be well laid. The Pope assigns them at present a fixed pension of 100 crowns a month. Our friend Bristow is expected at Rome before Michaelmas to give the benefit of his experience and also to help the seminary." [1]

The actual course of events in these early years of the English College is somewhat obscure. It is generally assumed that Dr. Owen Lewis obtained the appointment of Dr. Maurice Clenock as first Rector of the College, partly because in 1578 he was the actual Warden of the old Hospice. But the fact is that although Dr. Clenock held that office in the years 1576 and 1577, at the election held by the fraternity on May 17, 1578, Mr. Henry Henshaw was chosen by the brethren in his place.[2] It is impossible not to suspect the reason for this move on the part of the old members of the Hospital. Their wish was to safeguard their own vested interests, which seemed threatened by the new foundation

[1] *Douay Diaries*, i. Ap. 316. [2] *Archives*, lib. 33, sub an. 1578.

in their old premises. This move, however, appears to have hastened the accomplishment of the plans of the Pontiff. At any rate, the election of Mr. Henshaw in his place as Warden must have placed Dr. Clenock in a very difficult position, for with the students actually living in the old Hospice buildings and in the house next door, the place itself and all its corporate property was no longer under his management, but under that of the new Warden, Mr. Henshaw.

It is not difficult to conjecture that since Dr. Clenock was the Warden of the Hospice, when the project of utilising it for the new College was first mooted by Dr. Lewis and approved by the Pope, he would naturally have been regarded as the best man to continue to rule the establishment when the students came to live there. At any rate, beyond the fact that it was subsequently stated by Dr. Allen that the choice of Dr. Clenock was made by Dr. Owen Lewis, there does not appear to have been any formal appointment of the actual Warden as first Rector. It is easy to conjecture, therefore, that the brethren of the Hospice, not wishing to be disturbed in their possession of their old house, and probably considering that Dr. Clenock was committed to the contemplated changes, thought to save themselves by not again electing Dr. Clenock in 1578.

During 1578, although Dr. Clenock was no longer the head of the Hospice, he continued to be Rector of the students. His position could not have been an enviable one, as his authority over the buildings and property of the establishment had ceased with the election of his successor as Warden. The main work of the College was done, according to the suggestion of Dr. Allen himself and the special wish of the Pope and the Protector, Cardinal Morone, by two Jesuit fathers. Dr. Allen, it is well to remember, was a great advocate for securing the help of the Jesuits in the new undertaking, and in October 1578 he wrote to Fr. Mercurianus, the General of the Society, thanking him in the warmest terms for having permitted his fathers to undertake the charge of the students, and expressing his earnest wish that the arrangement might be a lasting one.[1]

[1] Tierney's *Dodd.* ii. Ap. ccclxxiv.

It is certainly abundantly clear that Dr. Allen had no belief in the capacity of Dr. Clenock as the ruler of the College. In fact, as he subsequently says, he thought Dr. Lewis's choice a mistake. He is quite clear about this, and adds that others at Douay agree with him. "Right sorry we were," he writes, "of the error that Mr. Maurice (Clenock) was made Rector, and gladly would have had, if the Jesuits might not or would not have been, rather Dr. Bristow. For that both his quality was excellent and his person graceful and he was a divine, which had been more fit than one of another profession;[1] besides the country, which you know many *respect*, how well and wisely I do not say. Therefore that he or some other like was not chosen or first appointed at the beginning, it was as I told you an error: the rather noted because Mr. Maurice being otherwise a very honest and friendly man and a great advancer of the students and seminary's cause, which was no fault in you (*i. e.* Dr. Owen Lewis), I dare be bold to say, but yet an escape and default in managing the affair, because you did not dehort Mr. Maurice from taking upon him the charge in the beginning for which indeed no dishonour be it unto him, he was not sufficient."[2]

Towards the close of the year 1578 there would appear to have been some difficulty about the property of the old Hospice and its management, which, as already pointed out, in May of this year, by the action of the brethren of the Institution, had been taken out of the hands of Dr. Clenock and vested in those of Mr. Henry Henshaw as their elected Warden. Before the year closed, however, this unsatisfactory state of affairs had been brought to an end by the Supreme pontifical authority. Fr. Parsons writes at the end of the year: "At Christmas a brief came out from the Pope's Holiness commanding all the old Chaplains to depart within fifteen days and assigning all the rents of the Hospital unto the use of the seminary, which was presently obeyed by the said priests."

The original of this Brief of Pope Gregory XIII apparently does not exist at present, but that it was issued cannot be

[1] Dr. Clenock was a Professor of Laws.

[2] *Letters and Mems. of Cardinal Allen*, p. 79.

doubtful, and there is another reference to it in a letter written by Dr. Gregory Martin on February 18, 1579, to Fr. Campion from Rheims : " With regard to public matters," he writes, " it is worthy of eternal memory that the Sovereign Pontiff Gregory XIII has lately confirmed the seminary at Rome which has been growing up for more than two years since its excellent beginnings. There are in it at the present moment forty-two of our students, most of whom are divines, one Rector, three fathers of your Society and six servants. They live in the hospital and the adjoining house. The revenues of the hospital having been transferred to the seminary, except what is required for the entertainment of pilgrims." [1]

Christmas 1578 may therefore be taken as the date when the old corporation of the English Hospice in Rome came to an end by the transfer of its property to the new College. and Mr. Henry Henshaw may be regarded as the last Warden of the old establishment. Dr. Owen Lewis obtained from the Pope for each of the six chaplains and for Mr. Henshaw adequate pensions on vacating their old quarters.[2]

The first beginnings of the College were not tranquil. Early in 1579 grave internal difficulties arose in the administration. It seems to be admitted on all hands that Dr. Clenock was a most incompetent ruler, unsuited for the difficult post of Rector. He had been placed in his position, partly, as already pointed out, by reason of his occupying the post of Warden of the old Hospital at the time, but mainly through the influence of his powerful friend and fellow-countryman, Dr. Owen Lewis. It must be allowed in his defence that he had a very delicate position as the Head of a College mainly directed by members of the Society of Jesus. These fathers were naturally not entirely under his jurisdiction, and had been placed in their offices by the Supreme authority of the Pope himself. It is, however, right to say that in these early troubles, the fathers appear to have acted with great prudence, and so far as can be gathered from the original documents had nothing whatever

[1] *Douay Diaries*, i. Ap. 319. The Pope's bull erecting the College was dated May 7, 1579. *Archives* (orig.), memb. (lib. v. p. 283, lib. 242, copies).

[2] Tierney's *Dodd.* iii. Ap. cccIxiv.

to do with the beginning of the troubles, nor with the final solution of the difficulties, which has been thought to throw some suspicion on their motives.

National rivalry and jealousy seems to have been the initial cause of the disorders which broke out among the students in 1579. The English students, who formed the majority—being thirty-three out of forty—considered that they were unjustly treated by the Rector, who being Welsh himself, unduly favoured the seven Welshmen. They regarded Dr. Clenock and his friend and adviser Dr. Owen Lewis, also a Welshman, as being violent partisans. They complained that the Welsh were a quarrelsome and uncouth set, with whom it was impossible to live in peace. The Rector, they declared, gave each Welshman a room to himself, while the English had to be content with the narrowest corners. The Welshmen were made comfortable in the winter with new and warm clothing, whilst the English had only their old torn summer cassocks. The document which the English students presented to Cardinal Morone the Protector, does not mince matters, but declares the rule of the Welsh Superior and Dr. Owen Lewis "intolerable," and the memorialists end by declaring that they would rather leave the Seminary than submit to such tyranny and oppression.[1]

In February 1579 the students broke out into open mutiny. They sent deputations to the Pope and to Cardinal Morone demanding the instant dismissal of Dr. Clenock, and petitioning that the Government of the College should be placed in the hands of the Jesuits. The Cardinal Protector and subsequently the Pope sternly supported the authority of the Rector, and told the malcontents either to obey his authority or to leave the College. The students were obdurate. The Cardinal lost his temper, threatened them with imprisonment and whipping, and finally told them "*abire in malam crucem*"—to go and be hanged.

The students remained firm in their determination never to submit to Welsh rule, and declared their determination to return to England and beg their way thither, rather than continue their present impossible life at the English College.

[1] *Archives*, lib. 304, printed in Tierney, ii. Ap. cccxlvi.

Meanwhile there was even danger of bloodshed within the College walls. The students wrangled with the Rector in the College refectory. "He began at the table," writes one of the English malcontents, "presently to revile some of our company with foul words, and (the Welshmen) preparing their knives in their hands to have strucken some of those that sat next to them. . . . Judge you, what time we had to look unto ourselves. But if it had not been for the common cause and for God's especially, we had been sure to have payed (them) for it." [1]

Petitions and counter-petitions to the Cardinal Protector and interviews with him resulted only in strengthening Cardinal Morone's determination to subdue the rebellion. Orders at last came to the College that Martin Array, John Mush, John Gore and Richard Haydock should at once swear obedience to Dr. Clenock or lay down their cassocks and depart. In case they refused, they were to be sent at once to prison. No sooner was this order made known, than all the students of the English party declared that they would throw in their lot with their four leaders and go out of the College with them.

This brought matters to an issue, and the Jesuit fathers connected with the College went to Cardinal Morone and begged to be allowed to withdraw from their work there, if the decree of expulsion was to be carried into effect. This he refused to consider until he had consulted the General. The proposed scheme of the fathers was that Mr. Clenock should nominally continue Rector and should have the Hospital, but that the students should be entirely under their Jesuit teachers. The English expressed themselves ready to accept this solution, but when the General of the Society was approached in regard to it, he expressly forbade the Jesuits to meddle in the matter.

A full and graphic account of what took place was given at the time by Mr. Richard Haydock in a letter to Dr. Allen.[2] From this, the main facts of the sequel to the story are known. Tuesday March 3 was Shrove Tuesday, and Dr.

[1] Mr. Richard Haydock to Dr. Allen (Tierney's *Dodd.* iii. Ap. cccliv).

[2] *Letters and Mems. of Cardinal Allen*, p. 74 (printed from Tierney, ii. Ap. cccl .

Clenock informed the English at dinner time in the refectory that they were to leave the College that night. But as supper had been prepared for all, in fact they did not depart that day, and in the afternoon six of them went to try and see the Pope to present him with another memorial and get his blessing before leaving. By chance they came upon the Holy Father in St. Peter's, but he would barely speak to them, calling them *ejecti*, and adding "*si non potestis obedire, recedatis*," whereupon, says Richard Haydock, "we requested his benediction and he lifted up his hands and blessed us; whereat his countenance changed wonderfully. We left our supplication," says the narrator, "with him and departed for that night, coming away to the hospital. We remained there that night."

The next day was Ash Wednesday, and early in the morning thirty-three English students marched in a body out of the College. They went to the house of an Englishman named John Creed, where they dined. Their action disconcerted those who had been opposed to them, since they never believed that they would carry matters so far. The students, however, appeared cheerful enough and declared that they would go in procession with a cross before them to Rheims, or if need be to England. "In very deed," says Haydock, "we were fully appointed of departing, thirty-three in company; having nothing in the world to bear our charges. Yet no man, from the highest to the lowest, was anyway discomforted. . . . Mr. Archdeacon (Dr. Owen Lewis) denied to give one penny to any." So the students paraded the streets of Rome, going from church to church asking alms. On that Ash Wednesday (March 4), "the first day of preaching," the Jesuit Fathers without naming them asked help for their special case, and those who knew them at College interested many in them and quickly provided a sum of money more than sufficient to meet their immediate needs or for those of their journey.

"But God provided for us otherwise. . . . The answer unto our supplication unto the Pope was, that we should come to kiss his foot before we departed; which we were glad of wonderfully and proposed that, before we should depart; meaning to defer it a day or two, for fear we should seem

importunate." They employed the delay in making friends with the Cardinal Protector and some other Cardinals his friends in order to assure His Holiness as they say "that we departed not of any obstinacy or misliking, but only moved by our conscience: meaning for ever to remain in due obedience unto the See Apostolic and all our Superiors." Whilst this plan was being carried out, a messenger arrived at the Hospital bidding the malcontents go to the Pope at once. It was said that they had already gone, but the father was told to find them and let them know at once. This "the father did not slacken to do; and, finding one in the streets by him called the rest . . . who, going to the house where we had dined and finding sixteen or seventeen there, went immediately unto the palace not knowing what was forewarned."

"They, kissing His Holiness's foot began to request His Holiness's blessing, before they departed. And here the most Blessed Father in the world, whereas they were in doubt what he would do, began to burst into tears, and asked —'and are you then gone out of the seminary?' They answered, 'Yea:' and he said—'Why would you go out unknown to me, or not telling me before?' They answer 'that the Cardinal had twice in his name commanded us.' And he asked whither they meant to go? And they told him, some into England, those that were fit, being priests and many others divines. 'Why' said he, 'be they so young, divines?' (meaning Christopher Owen, Pitts and Gratley). And they answered, 'Yea,' and all the rest philosophers and logicians alike. Said he: 'Why would you depart from Rome, where good manners and religion and learning is to be gotten? You must not in any wise depart, but you shall go home again, and have what you desire.'

"Which when they heard him speak so heartily they all fell weeping very fast, that they were heard to sob and could scarce speak unto him and he to them. And he asked them where they had dined? And they told him where, and how we prepared our dinner with our own hands; and that others of the company were going about the town, providing for our meat and viaticum to depart with. And he said: 'You should have come to me first for your viati-

cum. But go home again, and give me the names of some of your countrymen; and you shall have one of them: for this you shall have no longer.' And so kissing his foot again, with such joy that is not possible to express, they departed.

"And as they were going, he asked, if 'they would not one of his chamberlains to go home with them?' And they said 'yes,' because they were not sure that Mr. Maurice (Clenock) would credit them: and so he rung his bell for one of them, whom he sent with them unto our house."

The following day, March 5, the students presented to the Pope the names of two Englishmen then in Rome since they feared to name others who were elsewhere, for fear that if they had to wait Dr. Owen Lewis might find a means of defeating their object. The two names the students suggested were Dr. Morton, a refugee priest from England, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had long been living in the old Hospice, and Dr. Bernard, also a priest in exile for his religion. It was made quite clear by certain Cardinals both to Dr. Owen Lewis and to Dr. Clenock, that the Pope was determined to make great changes in the College, and the last efforts of the two Welsh friends were to try and secure the office of Custos of the Hospital for the latter. "That is it, that they aim at," writes Haydock, "and that is it, we meddle nothing with, but in order to our seminary: for, if he get it as like he shall, it will be, at the least, five hundred crowns a year, close unto our seminary." He adds that Dr. Owen Lewis "would make us believe that he procured our return again. But we know he had appointed to have set, or to have taken himself the house we dwell in, and had appointed Irishmen and Scottishmen in our places."

The strife was at end before Easter 1579. Neither Dr. Morton nor Dr. Bernard was nominated to the Rectorship, nor did the retired Rector, Dr. Clenock, get the Wardenship of the old Hospice, as the English students thought he would. A pension was provided by the Pope for him; but what became of him is not certain. He disappeared from Rome, and according to one account he was drowned at sea in 1580, whilst on a voyage to Spain.[1]

Meanwhile by Easter the College was placed by the Pope

[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biography.*

under the care of the Jesuits, which was the original solution suggested by the English students. The first entry in the "Annual Letter of the English College, Rome," is as follows: "March—An 1579—in the month of March, the most Illustrious Cardinal Morone conveyed to the Rev. Fr. Everard Mercurianus, General of the Society of Jesus, the command of His Holiness, Pope Gregory XIII, to the effect that he should undertake the charges and administration of this English College, until then directed by the Rev. Maurice Clenock. It was out of obedience that he accepted a burden which he was most unwilling to bear." [1] This would certainly appear to have been the attitude of the Father-General throughout towards the English College. When the crisis was acute and some of the fathers, especially those who had been the teachers and advisers of the English students, desired to help them as against their then Rector, the General expressly forbade them to do so, or in any way to manifest their sympathy with the movement of the students to get rid of their superior.

Immediately after the Society had taken over the charge of the College, Father Agazzari, S.J., was appointed by his General the first Jesuit Rector of the English College. When this had been done, Father Parsons wrote on March 30 a long letter to Dr. Allen on the whole affair. In it he writes:—

"Though the issue of this contention hath brought forth some good effects for benefit of this new College, which perhaps would not have ensued (or at least not so soone) if this sharp bickerment had not fallen out, yet have there many things passed therein which I could wish had been undone, or at least done with some more moderation on all hands, and this for the credit of our whole nation.

"Touching Mr. Morrice (Clenock) his Government, I think verily and do partly know also that it was insufficient for such a multitude; and how could it be otherwise, he being alone without help and never practised in such a manage before? The schollers alsoe were very evil provided for necessaries, sometimes going all ragged and in worse case, some of them at least (and those of the principal) as I have seen with mine eyes. National partialities also in distribu-

[1] Foley, *Records*, etc., vi. p. 67.

tion of things I think was not so carefully avoyded as ought to have bin. Yet could I have wished the schollers to have dealt more moderately for redresse, if it might have bin, and at least I would the difference between Welsh and English had not bin so often named, or so much urged here among strangers. . . . But who can stay young men or ould eyther, once incensed on both sides by national contentions? You know what passeth in Oxford in like occasions."

The writer then presses Dr. Allen to come at once to Rome to assist in "the pacifying of grudges between the two nations, seeing Mr. Dr. Lewis is your great friend." Also Father Parsons hopes that he may induce the General of the Society to send some of the fathers to labour with the other priests on the English mission on which many wish "to adventure their blood." [1]

Dr. Allen could not come to Rome at once, but on May 12, 1579, wrote fully and frankly on the recent troubles and their settlement to his old most dearly beloved friend Dr. Owen Lewis. In this and other letters he does not conceal his own great pleasure that the main result of the mutiny, which otherwise he deplores, has been to place the fathers of the Society in full possession of the College. "The committing the house to the Society," he says, "was all our desires and right sorry we were of that error that Mr. Maurice was made rector, and gladly would have had, if the Jesuits might not, or would not have been, rather Dr. Bristow. . . . That he or some other like was not chosen or first appointed at the beginning, it was as I told you an error." [2]

As already noted, in the opinion of some of the English students, Dr. Clenock desired to continue Warden of the old Hospice, after he had been called upon to surrender the rectorship of the Seminary to Father Agazzari. It was not till the August of this year 1579, that the matter was finally settled in favour of the College. The Annual Letter under August has this entry: "In the month of August the Most Illustrious Cardinal Morone waited upon His Holiness concerning the Church of the Most Holy Trinity and St. Thomas (of Canterbury) hitherto administered by the Rev. Maurice Clenock Warden of the Hospital of the English Pilgrims. He ob-

[1] *Letters and Mems. of Cardinal Allen*, pp. 74–5. [2] *Ib.*, pp. 78–9.

tained leave that the use property and administration of the said church should be assigned to this College of English scholars. We have therefore taken possession of the church, with its furniture and sacred vessels, the catalogue of which is kept in the College." [1]

Before this, however, the College had been granted full possession of the property of the Hospice by the Pope, although the execution of the transfer was delayed for some time. On April 23, 1579, His Holiness Gregory XIII signed the bull which canonically founded the English College, but owing to some practical difficulties, and the attitude of the members of the old corporation, the document was not published until the 23rd of December of the year following, 1580.

In this document the Pontiff begins by stating the motives and object of the new foundation. He has remembered the claims of England on the attention of the Holy See: he has seen its youths flying from persecution in their own country to seek instruction in Rome; and he has determined to assist them in their holy purpose, to provide for them the means of education and thus to qualify them for the arduous and important duty of declaring the truths of religion to their deluded countrymen. With this intention, therefore, he erects a College in the Hospital of St. Thomas, wherein not less than fifty English students shall be constantly educated in whatever may tend to fit them for the exercise of the sacred ministry. For their residence, he gives to them the hospital and two contiguous houses, hitherto occupied by the chaplains or brethren of the establishment and the Church of the Most Holy Trinity and St. Thomas: for the support of the College, Rector and students he endows it with all the property, houses and goods moveable and immoveable hitherto belonging to the ancient Hospital, and he bestows on it an annual pension of six thousand crowns. Further he exempts the College thus constituted from the payment of all taxes and places it immediately under his own jurisdiction. Having invested it with all the privileges of a University, the Pope appoints Cardinal Morone the Protector, through whose intervention whatever difficulties the new

[1] Foley, *Records*, etc., vi. p. 67.

Institution may encounter, may be adjusted. Finally the Holy Father directs that each student before being admitted to the College should take an oath to lead a life befitting the clerical state and declare his readiness to return at the will of superiors to England and there labour for the good of souls.

With this Bull of Pope Gregory XIII the foundations of the Venerable English College were securely laid. The date —December 23, 1580—when the Bull of Foundation was published is thus noted in the College Annals : "A.D. 1580, on the 23rd of December, to the praise and glory of the Most Holy Trinity and of St. Thomas the Martyr was expedited the Bull of the Foundation of the College, which though it was granted by Pope Gregory XIII in April last year, did not reach our hands before the above date, and in which as besides many faculties and spiritual and temporal favours all the goods of the English Hospices were united with the College. We received possession of them on the 29th of December which is dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr and although it does not explicitly appear in the Bull yet the Pope declared by word of mouth that this College was bound to receive and maintain the English pilgrims according to the statutes of the said Hospice. This Bull has been deposited in the College Archives." [1]

[1] Lib. ii. 12.

CHAPTER IV

A PERIOD OF UNREST

HAVING laid the foundations of the College by his bull, Pope Gregory XIII continued to show himself a munificent benefactor during the rest of his life. The number of students was originally settled at fifty; but this was soon increased. Dr. Allen arrived in Rome on October 12, 1579, as he had been urgently requested to do by his friends, ever since the first difficulties in the College had been settled and the Jesuits had been given charge of the new foundation. He had brought with him from Douay four newly ordained priests [1] that they might finish their studies in the Eternal City; but on his arrival he found that the determined number of students of the English College was already filled up. He, however, applied to the Pope to be allowed to place the students whom he had brought with him in the establishment.

"On October 13th the most Reverend William Allen," says the Annual Letter, "on the morrow of his arrival in Rome, went to Tusculum with the Reverend Father Alphonsus, Rector of the College. Having been admitted to an audience by His Holiness Pope Gregory XIII, he said that the number fifty fixed by His Holiness was already filled up, but that he had brought with him from England some students, for whose admission to the College he prayed. His Holiness answered that he would have none refused, for it was his pleasure that every Englishman coming to Rome should be received into the College if proved capable. This he repeated on another occasion to the most Reverend Father Allen and to the Rector. The same day on hearing that John Pascal, a former pensioner of this College, was unable to pay his dues, as his property in England had been confiscated.

[1] *Douay Diaries*, i. p. 27.

His Holiness commanded that the said gentleman should remain in the College as a student and forgave him all his debts."[1]

Dr. Allen wrote to Douay to announce his safe arrival in Rome and to say with what great kindness he had been received by the Holy Father and by the chief Cardinals. He also expressed his gratification at the good spirit he found existing in the new College. He was lodged, he says, in the Seminary and had his own table to which he could invite whom he wished, the Pope paying all expenses. When he first saw His Holiness in the interview above reported, on the Pope expressing his pleasure at seeing him, Allen replied that he had come "to visit the alumni of Your Holiness," as he had been asked to do. To this the Pope replied, "Not *my* alumni, Allen; they are yours rather than mine." In the same letter Dr. Allen remarks on the great kindness shown to him and his party by Cardinal Paleotti, the Archbishop of Bologna, who would not allow any of them to remain in an inn, but having paid all their expenses already incurred, took them to his own palace. To Dr. Ely the Cardinal, showing his house, said: "This place is a Hospice for the English."[2]

But Allen's journey to Rome was dictated by other reasons than his mere wish to see for himself how the students of the College had settled down after the recent troubles. He had watched the events from Rheims with an anxious heart, dreading that the spirit of discord might perhaps spread to Rheims. He looked anxiously for any indication of the disease, and as he told Dr. Owen Lewis, he made a point of always being present in hall for meals, notwithstanding his bad health, in order to hear what was being said. He thought he detected in certain letters written from Rome, some signs that "the Scottish nation begin to put in for it," and it is reported, he tells Dr. Lewis, "that you once said to my Lord of Rosse: 'My Lord, let us stick together, for we are the old and true inhabiters and owners of the Isle of Britany. These others [meaning the English] are but usurpers and mere possessors."

Such rumours made Allen fear that the turmoil was not

[1] *Douay Diaries*, i. p. 158.
[2] *Annual Letters*, Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 68.

entirely at an end: more especially, as he says, one Hughes of a bitter, odd and incompatible nature "had written to me and to Dr. Bristowe most plainly, that the Jesuits have been and shall be proved, the council and counsellors of all these tumults." Allen, though he entirely disbelieved this, was much disturbed by the evidence of a still seething discontent. It was reported to him that this same Hughes had said, that "the Jesuits have no skill nor experience of our Country's state, nor of our men's nature," and that "their trade of syllogizing there is not fit for the use of our people." There was much of the same kind and not a few hints that the new Jesuit Rector "must be put out." No wonder then if Dr. Allen, ill as he then was, was much disturbed in mind, fearing to get news of "new and endless stirs." He even told Dr. Owen Lewis, that if this goes on "I shall be weary of my life."[1] So rather than wait at home, he took his way to Rome to see for himself.

Moreover, by the autumn of 1579, the signs of new difficulties became so menacing, that Father Parsons wrote begging Allen not to delay his visit, but to come and help to make peace. Up to this time the fathers of the Society of Jesus had taken no part in the English Mission; and when, as one of the obvious results of the Jesuit rule over the English College, there came the exodus of Father William Holt and three other students to join the Society, and their consequent loss to the English Mission, people began to shake their heads and speak of the Jesuits as "putting their sickles into other men's harvest, and making use of their position in the College to entice their pupils into their own Order."

Father Parsons was anxious to be able to meet these insinuations. He had himself long urged the authorities of the Society to send labourers into the harvest in England, and he thought Dr. Allen could very probably influence the Father-General in this matter. "Perhaps," he writes, "you may induce him to joine some of his also (seeing God has sent so many into the Society) with our other priests to go into England seeing otherwise you and others have written that it is much desired by Catholics there." Then after saying that he had offered himself for the missions in India,

[1] Tierney, *Dodd.* ii. Ap. cccIxx.

but would gladly go to England instead, he adds: "But whether I go or not, I think the combination of our fathers of the Society with our priests of the seminaries is so important a thing and of so great consequence as if your coming brought no other thing to pass but this, you would have well bestowed your time." [1]

Allen was a sincere friend and admirer of the Jesuits, but he saw the danger to the English College if they were to be allowed to receive students into their ranks and thus take them from the work of the mission for which they had come to prepare. He consequently seized on the suggestion of Father Parsons to try and secure from the Society helpers in the dangerous field of the English Mission. His visit to Rome gave him the opportunity of discussing the matter with Father Mercurianus, the General. Apparently he did not at first carry his point, for some of the heads of the Order were certainly against the project and argued that caution was necessary, for the risks of life to the missioner in England were undoubtedly greater than in India. Some of the consultors also thought, that the Jesuit fathers would be immediately suspected of political objects and intrigues, whilst others foretold disputes between them and the secular priests in the country, which could be settled only with great difficulty, since there were no bishops in England. However, in the end, it is said to have been Father Aquaviva, subsequently General of the Order, who determined Father Mercurianus to accept Allen's proposal. Aquaviva is even said to have offered himself as one of the missioners to England.

So Allen carried his point. On December 5, 1579, he wrote from the English College at Rome to Father Edmund Campion, the Jesuit, then at Prague, telling him how he rejoiced in the decision and how he hoped that Campion himself would be one of the first to be chosen for the English Mission. "The Reverend Father General," he writes, "has given in to the prayers of many; the Pontiff, a true father to our country, has approved the project, so God cannot but bless it." [2]

It was Allen's hope that, thus linked together by a

[1] *Letters and Mems. of Cardinal Allen*, pp. 74–5.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 85. See Simpson's *Campion*, pp. 97–9.

common bond of sacrifice, of danger and of martyrdom, the Jesuits and the secular clergy might form a solid and united body, and that this might serve to consolidate the spirit of union between the students and their Jesuit superiors in the English College in Rome. With this hope Dr. Allen left Rome to return to his work at Rheims.

Meanwhile the College was constantly growing in numbers, and it quickly took a position as one of the first in Rome for the excellency of its studies. During Dr. Allen's visit, in October 1579, the first public thesis was defended by a young college student. The defension embraced the whole of Philosophy, and a very young and brilliant scholar named Gilbert Gifford, who afterwards, alas! turned out badly and was expelled, was the defensor and acquitted himself with great credit in the presence of many prelates and distinguished men. This first defension was followed in December by a second in which Father Mush distinguished himself equally well.

At first it seemed as if Dr. Allen's hopes for a union of hearts between the Jesuit missionaries and their secular brethren would be realised. In the April of 1580, Father Parsons and Father Edmund Campion, "the first of the Society of Jesus, whom at the persuasion of the most Rev. W. Allen, His Holiness sent into England," left Rome in company with five priests from the English College. These five were Edmund Rishton, Ralph Sherwin (afterwards a martyr), Luke Kirby (likewise a martyr), John Pascal and Thomas Bruce. Before leaving Rome, these heroic priests "had doubtless originated the custom of the English missionaries going to St. Philip Neri, ere they set out for the scene of their passion, that the full zeal and love pent up in that burning breast might find a vent and flow over, from him who was kept at home, upon those who were to face the foe. Therefore," says Cardinal Newman, "one by one, each in his turn, those youthful soldiers came to the old man, and one by one they persevered and gained the crown and the palm —all but one, who had not gone and would not go for the salutary blessing." [1]

[1] Simpson's *Edmund Campion*, new ed., 1896, p. 156. Mr. Simpson suggests that the one who failed was John Pascal.

"They had left one Saint at Rome," writes Mr. Simpson, "they were to find another at Milan. St. Charles Borromeo received our pilgrims into his house and kept them there for eight days. He made Sherwin preach before him, and he made Campion discourse every day after dinner." "He had," says Parsons, "sundry learned and most goodly speeches with us, tending to the contempt of this world and perfect zeal of Christ's service, whereof we saw so rare an example in himself and his austere and laborious life; being nothing in effect but skin and bone, through continual pains, fasting and penance; so that without saying a word, he preached to us sufficiently, and we departed from him greatly edified and exceedingly animated. St. Charles always, indeed, showed a partiality for the English exiles. Dr. Owen Lewis, the Bishop of Cassano, had been his Vicar-General, and William Gifford, afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, his chaplain. After our pilgrims' visit he wrote to Father Agazzari, the Rector: "I saw and willingly received those English who departed home the other day, as their goodness deserved and the cause for which they had undertaken that voyage. If, in future, Your Reverence shall send any others to me, be assured that I will take care to receive them with all charity and that it will be most pleasing to me to have occasion to perform the duties of hospitality, so proper for a Bishop, towards the Catholics of that nation. Milan, the last of June, 1580."[1] The Saint wrote to the same effect on March 15 of the following year.[2]

In the early years of the foundation the records constantly refer with gratitude to the generosity and fatherly care of Pope Gregory XIII, whom all loved to call the founder of the College. He was ever ready to give money both for the support of the students and for their journeys when returning to England. On one occasion, indeed, Dr. Allen begged him not to give so plentifully to some departing priests. He always received those who had finished their course in Rome before they left, bestowed on them his blessing and spoke

[1] Simpson's *Edmund Campion*, new ed., 1896, p. 157. Simpson says the original of this letter is at Stonyhurst—see it printed in *Douay Diaries*, i. Ap. 339.

[2] *Douay Diaries*, Ap. 340. The original is in the College Archives.

encouragingly to them of their great work for souls in England, and gave them special faculties. In 1580, he enriched the church of the College by the gift of a piece of the forearm of its patron St. Thomas of Canterbury, which had hitherto been among the relics in the treasury at St. Mary Major.

In November of the same year 1580, he granted a perpetual Plenary Indulgence to all who should visit the church of the College on St. Thomas's Day and Trinity Sunday. The Apostolic Brief for this is still to be found in the College Archives. Besides the annual payments made for the support of the students from the Pontifical treasury, in 1581 the Holy Father gave a sum of 2000 crowns to help out a deficit, and about the same time he gave to the College the Abbey of S. Saviano and the Priory of St. Victoria near Piacenza as a perpetual endowment for the establishment. The College continued to possess the revenues till 1795, and the mass of papers relating to the property in the Archives shows the business transacted during that period.

In his fatherly care, Pope Gregory XIII was ever anxious for the health of his students, and so in 1580, after failing to find a convenient country house where the students "with whom the Roman climate does not agree, might recreate themselves," he "set apart one of his own for the unrestricted use of the students, who have free entrance both to the grounds and buildings." [1] Later on, in July 1583, the Holy Father sanctioned the purchase of a vineyard outside the Porta del Popolo for the recreation of the students of the College. It cost 3000 crowns and was paid for out of the papal treasury. The season that year in Rome had been specially unhealthy and some deaths had occurred among the students, so the Holy Father hoped by this most acceptable gift to afford fresh air and much-needed exercise to the English exiles.

This same year, 1583, the Pope granted special Indulgences to the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, which was at this time established among the students. He granted a Plenary Indulgence on the date of entrance and the same when a member left for England or elsewhere, and an Indulgence of a hundred days every time the Sodalists met

[1] *Annual Letters*, Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 97.

for spiritual exercises, according to the custom of the Sodality.

On April 10, 1585, this generous founder and benefactor died, and the establishment was soon to learn what a loss it had sustained. The entry in the *Annual Letters* says: "Besides the usual suffrages for his blessed soul our students will keep his anniversary with all due solemnity, that God, in consideration of his many benefits to us, may reward him with life everlasting. Amen." [1]

The College by this time had secured other benefactors in a small way. To the library of the College, for example, in the first decade several friends left their books. For example, in 1578, Alan Cope, the well-known writer, died in Rome, and was buried in the church of the English College. He had been a Fellow of Magdalen College and a Doctor of Laws of the University of Oxford, but in 1560, when he saw that the Catholic religion would be proscribed in England, he withdrew to the Continent, and coming to Rome, took his degree in Canon Law and Divinity in the Roman schools. The Pope made him a canon of St. Peter's, and on his death he left his library to the English College,[2] in the church of which Masses were said for him on his anniversary till 1739, when, as there was no fund existing to provide the stipends, the obligation was taken off, except in regard to one Mass on the 6th of September, the day of his death.[3] Some of the volumes on the shelves still exhibit his signature. Cardinal Allen, too, left his books to the library on his death in 1583, and in 1585, Bishop Goldwell, so long connected with the old Hospice, bestowed in his will many things of value as well as his books on the College. His epitaph which was in the old church is now in the cloister. In 1583, Pope Gregory XIII set aside a sum of sixty scudi annually for paying the journeys of missionaries of the English College on their return to England; and to mention only one other papal benefaction in this century, Gregory XIV, in 1591, made a perpetual charge on the Dataria of 100 scudi a month for the further support of the College, which sum was regularly paid till the time of the French Revolution.

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 112. [2] *Chron.*, June 16, 1579.
[3] Lib. 362 *in principio*.

As noted above, in the year 1585 death removed the venerable Bishop Goldwell, the last of the old Catholic Bishops. He had been connected for such a long time with the English Hospice both as Warden and as living there as a guest, that it had been one of the griefs of Dr. Clenock, when the place was converted into the College, to have to turn this venerated man out of his old rooms. "I answered," says Dr. Clenock, "that I couldn't and wouldn't either permit or take part in this act against the most Reverend Bishop and venerable old man, who had been wont to confer Orders and administer other sacred rites constantly in our church." [1] The Bishop, however, made no difficulty, and retired to the house of the Theatines, to which Order he belonged. That he had every good wish for the newly established English College is shown by the fact that he left most of his worldly goods to it.

Cardinal Morone, the first Cardinal Protector of the College, died in 1581, and Pope Gregory XIII appointed his nephew, Cardinal Boncompagni, to succeed him. He is known in the records as the Cardinal of S. Sisto, and he manifested his interest in the establishment in numberless ways. He obtained from Pope Gregory as one of the last favours he granted to his foundation, that the English students "and others dwelling in this college, might in Lent gain all the Indulgences of the Churches of the Stations, by visiting the altars of the College Chapel and saying one Pater and Ave at each."

The period from the death of Pope Gregory XIII to the end of the century was again not a time of peace in the English College. Further disputes between the students and their superiors have unfortunately to be recorded—disputes which were of a serious character and which unjustly gained for the young English in Rome the reputation of being a turbulent and quarrelsome body. These dissensions are of course to be regretted, but it is impossible to pass them over without a brief mention in any true account of the English College. It is of interest, however, to note that since similar disturbances did not take place in other English Colleges of a like nature elsewhere, it is fairly evident that

[1] Tierney's *Dodd.* ii. Ap. cccIxxii.

the causes must be sought for in something else than in the particular national spirit of the English youths who came to study in Rome. There is, however, no need, now-a-days, to apportion the blame for the outbreak, nor to determine the causes which led up to it.

Notwithstanding the paternal interest of the Cardinal Protector and the correct attitude of the Jesuit Rector, Father Agazzari, a serious revolt of the students against their superiors broke out in 1585. Historians of the Society express themselves as certain that the origin of the trouble must be sought in the secret machinations of some emissaries of the English queen, Elizabeth, whose interest it was to wreck the seminary. The names of some suspected agents of Cecil and Walsingham are known. Such were Solomon Aldred, Thomas Morgan, Gilbert Gifford and Edward Gratley, and they certainly had intercourse with some of the discontented students. Such men may have had something to say in the matter; but we possess more sure evidence as to the grievances or the supposed grievances of the students.

Matters reached such a point in 1585, that Pope Sixtus V had to appoint a special commission to enquire fully into the causes of these "stirs" among the students, as they were then called. This was composed of two Bishops, one of whom was the Bishop of Piacenza, afterwards Cardinal Sega. The Visitation is thus recorded in the Annual Letter: "In August, by order of His Holiness Sixtus V, a Visitation of this College was held by the most Revd. the Bishops of Piacenza and Castra, with their respective coadjutors. . . . They began with the Chapel, the sacristy and the relics, and examined whatever appertained to the Divine Service. They next went through the rooms, the offices and furniture. They then passed to the consideration of the rules and usages of the College. In auditing the accounts they were assisted by an accountant. They questioned every student on matters concerning the state of the house. In their report to His Holiness they bore witness to the satisfactory state of the College, to the general contentment and progress of all the students, with but few exceptions. God be praised." [1]

This is, of course, an *ex parte* statement as to the Visita-

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 112.

tion made by the Rector; but it certainly does not give an adequate account of the real state of affairs. The Acts of the Visit disclose that there was serious discontent. The chief complaints of the students were that the discipline was altogether too petty and worrying: it was adapted, so at least they thought, rather for young children than for youths growing into manhood. Further, they complained that the Rector showed himself too partial to those students who showed any inclination to join the Jesuits, and that he made use of his favourites to spy upon the rest. Also, in their view, the general system of government, however good in itself and for Jesuits, was not suited for the education of secular priests, for which the College had been founded. Their request to the Visitors was that they might have as Rector a secular priest and an Englishman, who would be able to understand the character, customs and feeling of the English. In this, they were strongly supported by Cardinal Sandori, then the Cardinal Protector of Scotland.

At this juncture the Pope, Sixtus V, apparently summoned Dr. Allen to Rome, and he was also pressed by several of his Jesuit friends to come forthwith and give his advice as to the situation at the English College.[1] So, although very unwell, Allen determined to attempt the journey, and reaching Rome on November 4, took up his abode at once in the English College. He was destined to remain in the Eternal City for the rest of his life, taking part in the revision of the Sacred Scriptures and becoming one of the chief counsellors of the Holy See in the government of the Church.

On studying the affairs of the English College and in view of the discontent manifested at the time of the Visitation, Dr. Allen advised the Pope "that an English Rector should be given to the Englishmen." This was sound advice and was immediately acted upon, and provisionally Father William Holt, a former student of the College, who had joined the Society, was appointed Rector in place of Father Agazzari. After six months he was succeeded by the celebrated Father Parsons, and he again in 1589 by Father Creswell, who ruled the College till 1593. With

[1] *Letters and Mems. of Cardinal Allen*, Introd. lxxxiii.

this change from an Italian Jesuit superior to an English Jesuit it was hoped that the difficulties at the College would have been surmounted, especially as eight of the dissatisfied students were expelled as a result of the Visitation.

From the Acts of this Visitation some interesting particulars about the College at this time may be gleaned. Up to 1585, some thirty-two priests had left the Institution for the English Mission, and six students had gone from Rome to finish their ecclesiastical studies at Douay. Six priests had joined the Jesuits from among the students, and eight had died. In this year 1585, the number of the students actually in the College was sixty and the revenue was 4674 scudi. The concluding words of the Acts say of the students generally, " putting on one side their spirit of independence, we have heard nothing grave against them, but have seen evidence of their modesty, continence and great piety." Disgusted by the divisions in the College, Pope Sixtus V withdrew the annual subsidy of 3000 scudi, which his predecessor had given from the papal treasury for its support. This forced the authorities to diminish the number of students, and the Jesuit fathers attached in various capacities to the establishment. There had been eleven fathers, seventy students and a number of attendants. To effect this change, Fr. Holt was obliged to refuse many applicants, so that in 1586 the Jesuits were reduced to six and the students to sixty.

At this period it would appear that the General of the Society, who had never been in favour of his subjects undertaking the direction of the English College, desired to withdraw from it; but Fr. Parsons, who had now succeeded Fr. Holt as Rector, opposed this most strenuously and carried the day. It might, however, have been well and it would have prevented further difficulties, had the Father-General persisted in his wish to retire from the management of the College. As a fact, there never appears to have been a real period of freedom from unrest, and fresh and even more serious difficulties arose in 1594, and the " stirs " continued more or less acutely for years.

In 1593, Fr. Alphonsus Agazzari, the old Rector, who had since his resignation been holding office at the Gesù,

CARDINAL ALLEN

[*To face p.* 91.

once more assumed the government of the establishment at the wish of Pope Clement VIII and of Cardinal Toleto, who in the absence of the Protector Cardinal Gaetani, then on a mission to Poland, was acting as Vice-Protector.[1] This was generally interpreted as a return to the system of Italian Rectors, which had been given up at the advice of Dr. Allen. Naturally the English students did not approve of the change and agitations began once again, in spite of the exhortation, made by Father Agazzari on taking up office for the second time, "to subordination and regular observance." After a very brief period Father Agazzari retired again and gave place first to Father Vitelleschi, subsequently General of the Society, and then in May 1594, to Father Fioravanti, who would appear to have been a most incapable ruler of men. Even Dr. Barrat, the then Rector of Douay, who was a great believer in the Jesuit training of youth, thought this, and wrote it plainly to Father Parsons. "The rector (Fioravanti) will never be able to rule this place," he says in a letter, dated April 10, 1596, from Rome. "Many things I can tell you of, that must be amended concerning the College in the manner of government, and concerning better correspondence with the College of Douay, otherwise you will never have peace. Trust those that be your true friends."[2]

Cardinal Allen died at the College[3] on October 16, 1594,

[1] *Annual Letters*, Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 118.

[2] Tierney, *Dodd.* iii. p. 74.

[3] Cardinal Allen's faithful Secretary and Majordomo at the time of his death was Roger Baines or Baynes, who, dying in 1623, was buried in the English College Church. His monument is still preserved, and his epitaph styles him "nobilis Anglus," and states that "Ex testamento centum montium loca in pios usus reliquit, prout ex actis d. Michaelis Angeli Casi notarii constat." Like his patron the Cardinal, with whom he lived within the precincts of the College, he was much attached to the Institution. He was born in 1546, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth abjured the Protestant religion and joined Dr. Allen at Rheims. He came with him to Rome, and when his master and friend became Cardinal joined his household and assisted him at his death. After this he continued to live in a house belonging to the College, No. 28, and by his will left a burse for the support of a student. Roger Baines, amongst his other pious donations, left certain specific objects to the Venerabile. One of these is of peculiar interest, although unfortunately it is no longer among the treasures of the English College. It was a bronze plaque of Aristotle which had an interesting history, to which attention has been called by

having lived long enough to see the Italian Jesuits once more presiding over the English national College. He must also have seen, living as he did in the College itself, and having constant relations with the inmates, signs of growing discontent, which seemed to imperil the usefulness of the College which he had done so much to found. In 1596, Father Agazzari again became Rector for the third time, apparently as the result of another Visitation of the College ordered by the Pope.

The Report of this thorough examination made by Cardinal Sega, who eleven years before whilst Bishop of Piacenza had been one of the Visitors, is a very lengthy but

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Dr. Ashby, the Director of the British School in Rome, who furnishes the following note.

"On the back of a drawing of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, by John Alexander, made in 1715, and now in the British Museum (Forty Drawings of Roman Scenes by British Artists, pl. 1), is the following note. "Hanc Aristotelis Iconem Henricus Angliæ Rex dum Religionem litterasque coleret summo tamquam ab ipso Philosopho jam spirante ductam, habuit in pretio: litterarum vero pietatisque studio in Anglia collabente eam Card. Polus, unicum temporis sui lumen feritatem regis declinans, Romam detulit: quæ post aliquot annorum intervallum felici casu ad Cardinalem Alanum, ingens etiam gentis Anglicanæ ornamentum, pervenit, a quo dum fato concederet Rogerus Bainesius qui illi tum ab epistolis erat dono eam accepit e vivis exiens collegii Anglicani de Urbe Bibliothecæ egregium amoris sui reliquit vi Id. Octob. Anno MDCXXIII, Μνημοσυνον."

Dr. Ashby adds: "Compare Hülsen in Römische Mitteilungen xvii (1901), 178, No. 28. Tabella ænea exhibeno caput anaglyphum viri barbati (cm. fere 23 × 30) Mutinæ in numophylacio ὄstendens.

ΑΡΙCΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΟΑΡΙCΤΟΣ.

ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ.

Descripsi.

Aut idem exemplum est aut alterum simile quod perhibetur olim ab Henrico VIII, Angliæ rege datum Reginaldo Polo Cardinali, deinde pervenerat ad Cardinalem Alanum, denique a Rogero Bainesio a (?) 1623 donatum Collegio Anglorum in Urbe ubi, servabatur sæc. xviii exeunte:

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ.

ΟΑΡΙCΤΟΣΤΩΝ.

ΦΙΛΟCΟΦΩΝ.

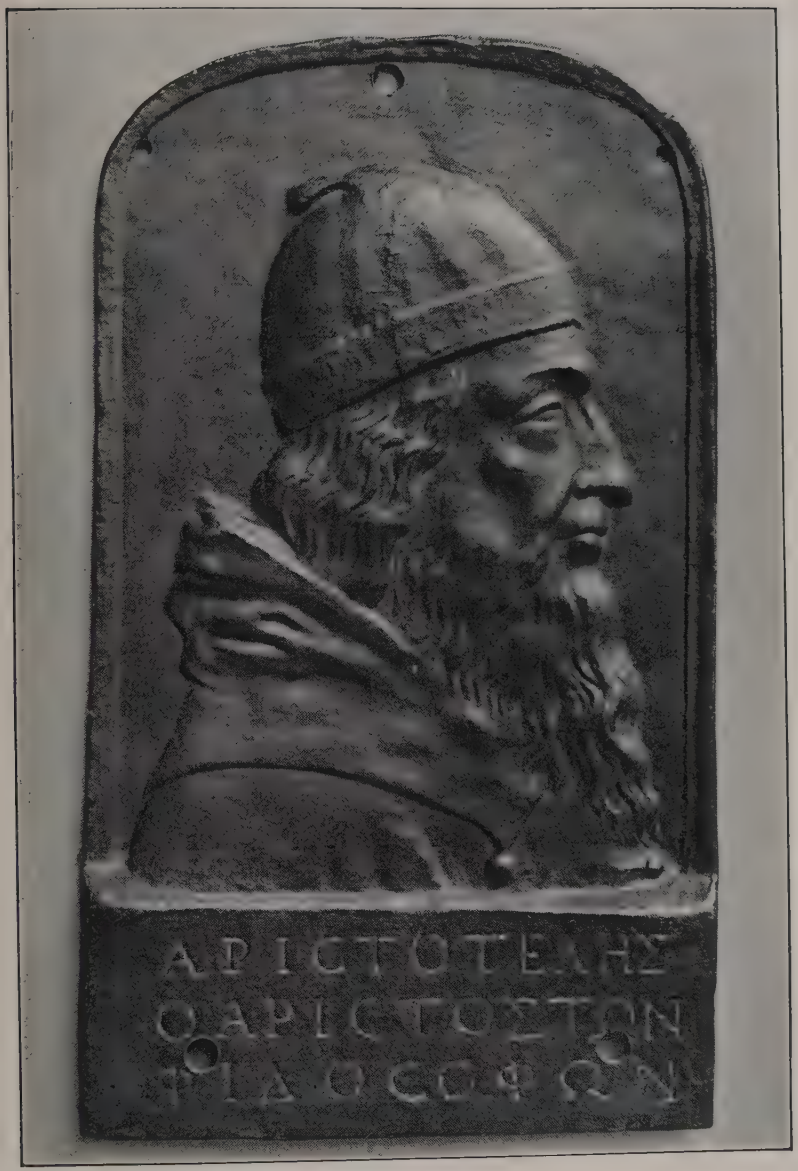
D'Agincourt Vat. 9846, f. 98.

Hülsen wrote me (Dr. Ashby), 7. v. 1911, that he had seen a similar Renaissance plaque in the Museo Correr at Venice, with the inscription thus—

ΑΡΙCΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΑΡΙCΤΟΣΤΩΝ.

ΦΗΛΟCΟΦΩΝ.

So," concludes Dr. Ashby, "it cannot be identical with that which was once in the English College."



ARISTOTLE

From a photograph of a Bronze Plaque, once the property of the English College

(By permission of the Faculty of Archæology, History and Letters, of the British School at Rome)

extremely interesting document.[1] At this time the number of students was forty-seven, and Cardinal Sega begins his memorial by setting forth the names of thirty-seven of these "who have taken part in the disturbances" and of the ten "who have remained faithful." He commences his account with the remark that as such disturbances as these, which have taken place in Rome, have never occurred in other seminaries directed by the Jesuit fathers, they "cannot be accounted for by any defect in its government by the fathers or by the native peculiarities of the English character." In his opinion the cause is to be sought in the influence of certain men, "who have only looked to their own interests"; "whose desire was to make money and thus amass riches, and to gratify ambition." "Gladly," he adds, "would I pass over in silence the names of these unhappy men, but I am compelled under present circumstances to mention one, whose memory I would fain spare, seeing he has departed this life, viz. the late Bishop of Cassano," Dr. Owen Lewis.

It must be confessed that, in view of the documents that exist, Cardinal Sega's account of the beginnings of the College is, to say the least, inaccurate and quite unfair to Dr. Owen Lewis, who was not then alive to speak for himself. In view of this, it may be well to say something about one who, as already pointed out, may be regarded as jointly with Cardinal Allen the founder of the English College. The mere fact that St. Charles Borromeo had made Lewis one of the Vicars-General of Milan, that he had him to live in his own house, and that the Saint died in his arms, may be sufficient to refute the idea that Lewis was a mere worldly self-seeker. He was promoted by Pope Sixtus V to the bishopric of Cassano in the Kingdom of Naples in 1588, but continued to reside in Rome and to be employed in various offices of trust by the Pope. From their early days at Oxford he and Cardinal Allen were linked together in a lasting friendship. The story that he and Allen were rival candidates for the Cardinalate, or that he was the secret foe of the Jesuits and was, as suggested by Cardinal Sega, the fomenter of the rebellion of the English students in the

[1] A translation is printed in Foley, *Records*, vi. pp. 1–66.

College, seems to have no better foundation than the malicious gossip of enemies. That he should be a friend of the students was but natural, since after Cardinal Allen's death he was the chief English ecclesiastic in Rome. It was but natural, also, that the English students should, on the Cardinal's death, have desired that the special faculties for England possessed by Allen should pass to Dr. Lewis, the representative Englishman. Their petition to this effect appears to have been the chief ground of the accusations against the good name of Owen Lewis. We may add that at his request he was buried in the chapel of the English College, and a Latin epitaph was set up to his memory.

This was only right since he was a great benefactor to the College and left by his will 1000 scudi, which the Rector received in 1597 and found most useful in paying off a loan from the Monte di Pietà. "And," runs the record, "as the said Bishop had bequeathed these thousand scudi on a condition mentioned in a letter to the Most Illustrious Cardinal Cusani (his executor), the said Cardinal fixed on the College the charge of celebrating one Mass daily for the soul of the departed Bishop, and an anniversary service on the recurrence of the date of his decease." [1]

To return to Cardinal Sega's report: the main interest of the document is the statement of the grievances of the students against the College authorities. No doubt there were in their midst some who in their after life proved themselves wholly unworthy Catholics. Some no doubt were unruly and disobedient subjects, but it is wholly incredible that three-fourths of their number can have been involved in the "stirs" without some cause.

The Cardinal says: "Among the students at that time were some who, because they had taken the degree of Master of Arts in the English Universities, claimed precedence over their fellow-students, and objected to be governed, as they were wont to say, like children." They also "imperiously required that the Rector should at least have an English colleague." Whilst Cardinal Allen lived, his presence and authority were sufficient to stifle the ever-smouldering embers of discontent and prevent

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. 119.

outside evil influences from having effect. "No sooner, however, had this bright star, whose effulgence had so long guided the perilous course of English affairs, disappeared from the firmament [1] than new and far more violent storms threatened the College with shipwreck. It was the prevalent belief (?) that the hand of the Bishop of Cassano was the motive power of this juvenile mutiny. He seems throughout the whole course of these events to have had aims far higher than those which met the public gaze. Certain it is that his partisans in the College, whether of their own accord or by the influence of others, took counsel for the purpose of raising that prelate to the position which the late Cardinal had occupied."

From the accusations of mismanagement made by the students, the Jesuits defended themselves with spirit and skill; and it must be confessed that many of these accusations appear to be exaggerated and petty. Evidently after a patient hearing, Cardinal Sega was wholly on the side of the Superiors, and practically dismissing the charges against them, sums up the demands of the forty-seven English students under two heads. First they ask that the administration of the College shall be taken out of the hands of the Jesuits, and secondly they beg for secular priests as superiors, or else Fathers of the Oratory under Baronius. As to the first, the Cardinal Visitor remarks that the Jesuits themselves have made the same request to the Pope and would be but too willing to get rid of the burden. And in regard to the general demands he says: "It must not be lost sight of that, as the whole tenor of their demands clearly proves, they—the English students —are endeavouring to establish a sort of democracy. They fancy they are living on their own estates and not on the alms of the Apostolic See. Nearly all their demands are most prejudicial to the good government of the College."

Before coming to the conclusion of this somewhat complicated incident in the history of the English College it may be permitted to point out briefly what was really the foundation of the difficulties at this time. It was in the main political. The account given by Tierney,[2] certainly

[1] Cardinal Allen died Oct. 1594. [2] Tierney, *Dodd.* iii. p. 38 n.

no partisan of the Jesuits, seems after a consideration of the available documents to be just and correct. It is necessary to quote his judgment at some length. "Dodd," he writes, "seems to refer all the disputes and dissensions, which distinguish the early history of the English College at Rome, to the embittered feeling resulting from the transfer of that establishment to the hands of a Jesuit rector. I am inclined to think this is a mistake. That the recollection of the past may have tended to increase the subsequent irritation of the disaffected is not unlikely: but that the irritation itself derived its origin from other causes, that other sources of alienation had been opened, and other instruments of discord had been brought into action is scarcely susceptible of a doubt. . . . Two parties divided the Catholics on the subject of the succession to the crown. On the one side were ranged the Jesuits with Parsons and others at their head: on the other was a considerable number of the secular clergy, with what the event will justify us in regarding as the great body of the Catholic population of England. Religion we may fairly believe to have been the object of both. But the means were political: political feelings produced political violence; opposition was met with opposition, aggression with equal aggression, and a sentiment of mutual jealousy and distrust was generated, which still continued to operate, when its causes had long been forgotten. At this period, to which the present history relates, this sentiment was in all its activity, both in England and abroad. Of course the College at Rome was not exempted from its influence."

This is not the place to enter fully into the history of these differences. All that it is here necessary to say is, that just when various causes of discontent existed among the students, and the incompetent government of the superiors had led to relaxed discipline and disorganisation, the publication of a book by Father Parsons led to the outbreak into which Cardinal Sega was sent to enquire. Cardinal Allen was already dying when Father Parsons issued his volume entitled a *Conference about the Next Succession*. In the second part of this book the author tried to show that the appropriate successor for Queen

Elizabeth was the Infanta of Spain, as a descendant of John of Gaunt. The book made a tremendous sensation, and the English parliament made it high treason for any one to possess a copy of it. Here we are only concerned with its effect in the English College. Father Agazzari wrote to Parsons that the English students are determined to oppose themselves to the design of the Spanish King. "They speak," he says, "often and despitefully against the Book of Succession and against its author—Parsons as they suppose—whose name they cannot endure. They delight in the failure of the Spaniards as lately at Cadiz; and they grieve over their successes as at Calais."[1] Dr. Barret, the Rector of Douay, wrote in much the same strain in April 1596. "I find their heads full of false bruits and differences betwixt Jesuits and priests in England. Yea, the selfsame faction that is at Brussels, be here against the Spaniards and such as take that way." Unfortunately the obnoxious book was introduced into the College, and it is said that it was proposed to have it in the refectory in place of the usual reading, but the lector, a young divine named Jasper Lobb, flatly refused. This student, Jasper Lobb, was among the number of those sent away from Rome to Douay in 1597, by order of the Cardinal Protector. He was ordained in the latter place two years later.[2]

But to return to Cardinal Sega's Visitation. He gives it as his opinion that on no account should the Jesuits be withdrawn from the English Mission, as some were suggesting, and that they should be maintained in their government of the English College. In this view he was strongly upheld by Dr. Barret of Douay. Writing from Rome to his friend Father Parsons on April 10, 1596, he says, that he finds "the causes of these shameful flames were *in primis*: (that) the scholars were permitted to deal in public affairs, for a Cardinal, for faculties, etc. Wherein being persuaded that the Society was of a contrary mind, they conceived an indignation and aversion, as though the fathers were enemies to them in their cause and their

[1] Tierney, iii. Ap. lxxv. Written in August 1596.
[2] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 508.

country. . . . During these troublesome broils, where neither study of learning nor exercise of virtue keepeth them occupied, no marvel if some young men would willingly look back to the world and take any occasion to be gone with the rest."

Dr. Barret also says that he had exposed all his views to the Pope and had "lamented their madness, who would try and sow dissensions between the Jesuits and the seculars," and, as for allowing the fathers of the Society to resign the administration of the College, he told His Holiness that the "whole College of Douay, the Colleges of Spain and at St. Omer, the priests of England and generally all our nation Catholic" were opposed to such a change, except some few "by whose ill counsel these youths were deceived." [1]

The matter, however, was not settled so quickly. Cardinal Toleto, whom the Pope trusted and had sent to arbitrate, since in the absence of Cardinal Gaetani he had been named Vice-Protector, was inclined to sympathise with the students. As one of the accounts hostile to the Jesuits has it, he "knew the Society well, being one of them." The Cardinal, however, did not live to see the conclusion of the affair, as he died in September of this year, 1596. This delay kept Dr. Barret in Rome, and on the 26th of September he again wrote to Parsons that he could not leave till matters were settled. The delay, he says, has caused "these busy-headed fellows" to conceive some hope of removing the fathers from the College. "Besides, Father-General [Aquaviva] made suit to His Holiness to have the Society delivered of this government."

As both parties desired the same thing, Dr. Barret feared that the removal of the fathers from the College might be carried out. This, according to his way of thinking, would have been the ruin of the College, and he implored the Holy Father not to consent to the retirement of the Jesuits, and "thus sacrifice the true interest of the English College to the small knot of turbulent youths, who set themselves up against the Society and against the other Colleges." At the end of his audience, the Rector of Douay assured the Pope that in this opinion "he had expressed

[1] Tierney, iii. Ap. p. lxxiii.

the general feeling of the entire Church of England, as well as his own." [1]

Nearly a year before—on December 8, 1595—Dr. Barret had written to the General of the Jesuits in the name of all the professors of Douay on the subject of these miserable disputes. Cardinal Sega quotes from this letter in his Report. The professors of Douay through their Rector claim to speak the mind of the English generally when they deplore the intention of the Father-General to surrender the care of the Roman College. They close a stirring appeal to him not to do so with the following words: "Call to mind that the other seminaries, whether in Spain or here in Belgium, are committed to your piety and fidelity. Consider our own (*i. e.* Douay) which cannot long subsist without your patronage and concurrence. Wherefore, then, most kind Father, will you forsake us, to whom will you abandon us in our helplessness? Who else but you labours with us in the English Mission? If you resign the task of training our young men, where are we to look henceforth for workers? To whom can we send our students, who for God's sake have given up kindred, country and all that makes life worth living? What bitter grief has been awakened in the breasts of the good in England at hearing of this. On the other hand, how the heretics triumph thereat." [2]

Cardinal Sega finally recommended, as the conclusion of his enquiry, a diminution of the number of students. This he thought necessary in view of the inadequate means of the College; and he added that Dr. Barret, the head of the Douay College, was said to be willing to take those who may have to leave under this arrangement. Those who had to leave, he suggested, should be mainly those who have declared that they cannot live in peace under the Jesuit rule, which he desires to be continued. In the course of his report he notes that, from the time of its first institution in 1578 till July last (1595), three hundred and three students had been admitted into the establishment. Of these, thirty-one had joined the Society, and forty-seven were still in the house. Of the remaining two hundred

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. Introd. xv. [2] *Ib.*, vi. p. 53.

and twenty-five only ninety-five—less than half the number —had been sent to England, and out of the thirty who joined the Jesuits twenty-five had been sent to labour on the English Mission.

The conclusion of this lengthy Report deals with many points of interest in regard to the College life and temporal administration. It may usefully find a place in any history of the establishment. The Cardinal says: "The yearly income of the College consists (1) of the revenues of the monastery of St. Saviano at Piacenza, and of the Priory united thereto, 3300 scudi; (2) of the rents of certain moneys and loan offices belonging to it in Rome; (3) finally of certain donations to the amount of 2905 scudi; in all 6205 scudi."

The annual charges on the College, whether for the interest and pensions which it had to pay, and for the expenses of letting or repairing its vineyards, amount to 308 scudi. The monastery above mentioned has upon it a yearly charge of 1000 scudi for repairs of the dykes of the Po, as we are told, and for other usual expenses, which reduces the income of the College to 4900 scudi a year.

It must be borne in mind, notes the Report, that the accounts of the monastery are not kept in Rome, nor are they closely balanced, so that it is probable that the College was somewhat the loser by this negligent way of keeping accounts, as it is not unlikely that a third of the revenues of that monastery were swallowed up in current expenses.

"I hear from the Fathers," continues the Cardinal, "that the College has on it a debt of 86,425.60 sc., part of which consists of interest on moneys borrowed, part in debts contracted by the yearly needs of the College. The accounts are very confused, nor is the present book-keeper one whom I should select for that charge. There are no inventories or accounts of stores kept in the various offices, especially in the store-room or the clothes-room; everything seems to be left to the discretion of those in charge."

The College hired a baker to bake bread, with three servants under him, and during the late dearth it may perhaps have saved somewhat thereby. But now that plenty is restored, it is unquestionable that the College

loses by this arrangement. An examination of the accounts of the last year proved that 300 scudi might have been saved by getting the supplies from a baker outside. Then, too, the custom prevailed in the College of drinking only Neapolitan, or, as it was called, di Ripa wine. It would, however, so thought the Visitor, be a saving if, during four or five months of the year, the students would make use of the produce of the Roman vineyards.

The beasts purchased for the supply of the College were usually bought at the Campo Vaccino. This might perhaps have been done without any loss to the College if the matter had been looked after by men up to their business. "The last year's accounts," he says, "show that they might have supplied themselves more cheaply at the butcher's." Another reason of this large expenditure on meat may be that, as there is no stint of meat in the house, larger portions are given than is usual elsewhere. "The quantity of cheese consumed," he adds, "seems to me to exceed what the numbers require."

One source of heavy yearly expense to the College was that on the days of recreation at the Vigna (once a week in spring and twice in summer) dinners were given of many courses and to many guests, for the fathers or the students often invite externs. The two annual festivals of the College are the most Holy Trinity and St. Thomas of Canterbury, on which days musicians are hired at a cost of over 100 scudi; grand dinners were provided for them, and for more than 200 other guests, so that on these days the College spent more than 300 scudi.

The clothes-room was a heavy item in the accounts; yet the students grumbled, though they were allowed to come and get what they liked, there being no fixed quantity allotted to each.

Another heavy and useless outlay was feeding and treating lackeys (*palafrenarii*) who attended guests, etc.

The person in charge of the infirmary was, in the opinion of the Cardinal, both incapable and careless.

The numbers then in the College were: Students, forty-seven; Fathers S.J., eight; Prefects, two; domestic servants, eighteen or nineteen.

Besides these, there were five non-residents paid by the College: the physician, surgeon, agent, *maestro di capella*, and the organist.

Lastly, the students complained that there were too many fathers and servants.

"I have but summarily set down and merely indexed the several heads of the domestic administration, which with many other things that I have passed over for brevity sake, to my mind call for reform."

Cardinal Sega then calls attention to the English people then residing in Rome outside the College. He considers that much of the trouble in the establishment "owed its origin and growth" to the unrestricted intercourse which they had been allowed to have with the students, and he suggests that all communications even by letter between these strangers and the collegians should be "wholly suppressed or carefully restricted."

Towards the close of 1596, Pope Clement VIII appointed Cardinal Borghese to be Vice-Protector of the College in place of Cardinal Toleto, who, as already noted, had died in September, before matters had been finally arranged—the Cardinal Protector, Cardinal Cajetan, being still absent as Legate in Poland.[1] With this appointment, and by the advice of Dr. Barret, the Holy Father finally determined the questions at issue between the Jesuit superiors and the students of the English College. In the main he adopted the suggestions of Cardinal Sega: the government by the Society was continued, but the Rector, Father Agazzari, in October 1597 gave place once more to Father Vitelleschi, the future General of the Society. He, however, only retained it for a year; for on November 2, 1598, Father Parsons once more became Rector and retained the office till his death in 1610. From this time till the suppression of the Society, an English Jesuit was always appointed to the office.

In accordance with the suggestion of Cardinal Sega that the number of students should be diminished, and that some of them should be sent to Douay, where Dr. Barret had expressed his willingness to receive them, the Cardinal

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 119.

Protector—Cardinal Cajetan, who had now returned to Rome—addressed a letter in October 1597 to the Rector expressing the Pope's desire that this should be carried out. The letter is endorsed: "Dismissal of six students, 1597." But this is altogether too harsh an expression to use with regard to them; for although they were all among the number of the thirty-seven who had engaged in the agitation, the letter specially directs that they receive proper money and outfit, and that one reason at least for their being transferred to Douay, was to lessen the number in the Roman College so as to prevent the "heavy debts" increasing. As a fact, at this time ten students left Rome for Douay, and it is of interest to note that subsequently all of these became zealous missionaries and exemplary priests in England, except one—George Banister—who was drowned in the river at Douay in 1598.[1]

Thus ended the great "stirs" of 1596. With these changes and the exercise of a little tact on the part of the Jesuit superiors, especially in the appointment of an Englishman as Rector, the students gradually settled down in peace. Later, as will have to be noted, there were further difficulties, but they were not so serious as those which had taken place in the closing years of the sixteenth century.

At this time an incident occurred at the College which may be told in the words of Father Pollen.[2] "A few scholars [of the English College] were found drinking in a tavern, and, when asked who they were, thought it a capital joke to say that they were from the German College. On the other hand, the Jesuit authorities of that College, on hearing that their good name had been touched, not unnaturally appealed to their Cardinal Protector to discover and punish the offenders. So when, at the end of September, the same merry company paid another visit to 'The Sign of the Rose' beside St. Mark's, they were promptly run in by the *sbirri* or police of the time. Under these circumstances the affair took a serious aspect; for Italians are much less inclined to condone such offences. The Pope,

[1] *Douay Diaries*, i. p. 16.

[2] *The Institution of the Archpriest Blackwell*, p. 24.

though appreciating the humorous side of the adventure, did not overlook the offence against discipline. He laughed, but added rather grimly, that 'as the English had drunk the Germans' wine, they should also go to prison for them' —that being the ordinary punishment for their offence." Finally, Father Parsons arranged a compromise, and the students were confined in private rooms at the College, where they were examined by the Don Accarizio Squarcioni, a Canon of St. John Lateran's, whom the Pope sent to conduct the enquiry.

Before passing on, one incident with which the English College is connected should be referred to, as it tended to accentuate the distrust of the secular priests in the politics of the College. The English clergy had frequently manifested to the Holy See their desire to have Bishops appointed to rule them. Father Parsons was naturally consulted on this matter, as he was at the time Rector of the English College in Rome and in constant relation with the Cardinal Protector of both the College and the English nation—Cardinal Cajetan. At first, apparently, Parsons approved of the project, but subsequently he suggested the appointment of a priest as Superior, with the title of Archpriest, but enjoying episcopal jurisdiction. The Cardinal approved of the suggestion, and in 1598 appointed Mr. George Blackwell, with full ecclesiastical jurisdiction, over the clergy of England. He was given a council of six priests named by the Cardinal, and empowered to make choice of another six. The Archpriest was advised by the Cardinal to have special regard to the peace of the Society of Jesus, and it is said that with this letter was sent one containing private instructions, "enjoining him in all matters of importance, to be guided by the advice of the Superior of the Jesuits." [1]

There is fortunately no necessity to enter into the merits of the unfortunate quarrel about this appointment. It was a great sorrow to many of the priests on the English Mission not to have been granted episcopal government, and the form of the order, coming from the Cardinal Protector of England, in place of being issued by the Holy

[1] Tierney's *Dodd.* iii. p. 48 n.

Father himself, led them to hope that further representations to Rome might be listened to if made at once. They therefore deputed two of their number, William Bishop and Robert Charnock, to proceed to Rome to represent their petition. The second had been an old English College student, and he and his companion arrived in Rome on November 10, 1598.[1] After being received by Fr. Parsons into the Hospice for five days, they had to seek lodgings in the city.

Canon Tierney[2] gives the sequel as follows: "In the middle of the night, on the twenty-eighth of December, they were suddenly arrested by a company of the Pope's guards, and having been conveyed under escort to the English College, were committed to the custody of Parsons and placed in separate apartments. For nearly four months they continued under restraint. Their papers were seized; they were debarred from all communication with each other; they were secluded from the counsel and intelligence of their friends; and they were subjected to a series of insulting and harassing examinations, conducted by Parsons and registered by Father Tichbourne, another member of the Society. On the seventeenth of February, 1599, the two Cardinals Cajetan and Borghese arrived at the College: but the prisoners, instead of being allowed to discharge their commission, were, in reality, placed upon their defence; and a process, bearing all the characteristics of a trial, immediately commenced. The previous depositions were read; new charges of ambition, and of a design to procure mitres for themselves, were urged against the deputies: the procurators of the archpriest were heard in aggravation; and the accused, having been permitted to reply, were remanded to their confinement, there to await the decision of the Court. . . . That decision was pronounced on the twenty-first of April. It released Bishop and his companion from their restraint; but ordered them to leave Rome within ten days; it forbade them to return either to England, Scotland or Ireland, without the express permission of the Pope or the Protector."

All this curious history, which did not lose in the telling,

[1] *The Pilgrim Book*, ed. Foley, 569. [2] *Dodd.* iii. p. 52 n.

could not have failed to increase the distrust in the management of the College, which unfortunately existed in the minds of the clergy in England. The effect on the students on seeing two English priests, who had come to lay a case before the Holy See, remaining as prisoners in the College, may be better imagined than described.

CHAPTER V

THE JESUITS RULE THE VENERABILE

When Father Parsons arrived in Rome, some time in the April of 1597, he found that Father Agazzari was once again installed as Rector of the English College. He set himself at once to work to probe the origin of the recent difficulties and to excogitate some means to prevent their recurrence. He almost at once got into relations with the students and won their confidence. Two letters written at this period, one by himself and another by one of the students, afford an interesting insight into these negotiations.

To take Father Parsons' letter first. On May 5, 1597, he writes to Father Holt: "God hath given at length a happy end to these troubles and disagrements here in Rome: which, in truth, as I have found to be greater and more deeply rooted than ever I could imagine (though I had heard much) so are we more bound to Almighty God for the remedy which I believe verily to be found, and from the root. . . .

"The means have been, next to God's holy Grace, certain large conferences that we have had alone (I mean the aggrieved part) with me together: wherein we have passed over all the whole story of these troubles and the causes of grief, discontent, contention, suspicion, emulation or exasperation, that have been given or taken on both sides: and as, on the one side, I have been content to hear the scholars, and to yield them reason where I thought they had it on their side, so, on the other, have they also been content to hear me, when I thought my reason was better than theirs, as also to distinguish where I presumed that, with some reason, there might go accompanied also some passion, suspicion, exaggeration or sinister interpretation: and so finally, God be thanked, we are come to a full end

and conclusion. . . . The scholars, on their sides, have fully satisfied me; and I have procured to remove all impediments on the behalf of the Society, and so shall do for the time to come, so as I heartily hope that never the like shall happen again. . . . And assure yourself, my good father, that, in untwisting of this clue, and unfolding matters past, I have found errors on both sides. . . . And who will marvel at this, seeing the one were strangers to the other, and the other had to deal with strangers. . . . This union here is not made only within the house, but with all in like manner abroad, both of your nation and others, and, namely, with the fathers of our Society everywhere. And the success hath so contented His Holiness and all the Cardinals of the town, as you would wonder. And this day, being the Ascension of our Saviour, the Cardinal Vice Protector, Borghesius, has been here at the college himself and signified his exceeding great contentment of this event." [1]

In this letter, from which these quotations have been made, it is clear that in Father Parsons' mind the fault of the dissensions was not all on one side, and he more than plainly hints that much of the misunderstanding had come from the fact that foreigners had been put to rule over Englishmen, whose characters they could not understand. More interesting even than the letter of Parsons is that of Edward Bennet,[2] a student of the College, written on the 16th of the same month.

"In my last," he says, "I have written unto you [3] of Father Parsons' coming to Rome, since which time I have forborn writinge, because I would first see to what event our miseries would come unto; which now at last, to my no little ease and great comfort, the contentment of the scholars, the good of our country, I doubt not, I have seen. Whereof now by the first opportunity, I thought good for your comfort to make you partaker.

"Wherefore, that you may the better understand the

[1] Tierney, iii. Ap. lxxviii.

[2] Ed. Bennet was one of eight students who came to Rome from Douay in 1591.

[3] Dr. Hugh Griffin, Provost of Cambray.

series of our proceedings in ending of this business, you shall first understand that he, whom we most feared, and whom we accounted for our greatest enemy, hath been our greatest friend; yea, and the only man that hath satisfied us and put an end to these troubles, I mean Father Parsons. The matter passed thus. Father Parsons, at his first coming to Rome, lay at the Casa Professa, where many of the scholars visited him, and myself amongst the rest did the like. You must think that most of our discourse was how to end these stirs and to put an end to that which was an occasion of so great scandal. He offered us conference to hear our griefs, to give us remedy where we had reason, and desired of us likewise to hear reason, not to be carried away with passion, because it was God's cause; promising us that we should find all charity and indifferency in him that we could piously desire or expect. This passed on for a sevennight. In the meantime, he visited our Protector and the Pope's Holiness, with whom after a long discourse the Pope did ask him where he lay. He answered him, at the Casa. Then the Pope asked him whether he had been at the College:—but, to be brief, the Pope desired him to come and lie at the College, to see whether he might do any good.

"So he came to the College, the next day, and lieth there still; so then we had better opportunity, with less trouble, to go forward with that whereof we had had some speech. He called us all together, told us we had God's cause in hand, laid before us the detrements that our countrymen suffered abroad because of our troubles, the inconveniences within the college that we found, and, in fine, the harm that the cause of England was like to suffer, if that these factions and dissentions did continue.

"Such and like discourses being had, we all agreed to deal with father Parsons and seen whether he was able to give that satisfaction, which as yet we had not found. Whereupon we had certain conferences with him, debated and disputed all our whole matter from the beginning, proposed our difficulties and our reasons, which he heard with patience,—he, of the other side, the occasions which he thought to have been always the hindrance of peace,

the mediums to get peace again and gotten to conserve it: for you must understand that our intention was, to make a solid peace and to find out the occasions of perturbing thereof, and, being found, to root them out. Much ado there was, you must think, in ripping up so many old festered sores; and you must think that he, that with reason should think to please a multitude, must have a good cause, [and] a great deal of patience: but truly, it pleased God so to help them all, in this good purpose of theirs, that, in all the time of their conferences, there fell out nothing of any part, that might give disgust. Father Parsons, for his part, yielded to the scholars to all things that they themselves had reason for, with such satisfaction of them, that surely I, which have known the very marrow of their action, would never have believed it, if I had not been an agent in it: and he, of the other side, I dare say, stood much comforted; so that we made a most sweet, loving and friendly peace, not only within the college, but also without: and I do hope it will continue, for the scholars be very quiet of mind. And, to tell you, as my old friend, I did never think that Father Parsons could ever have gotten that love of the scholars, as he hath gotten: so that, now we have ended all our troubles, the scholars confidently go to confession to the fathers. The Pope's Holiness is wonderfully pleased with it, as much as he was displeased with our troubles."

The writer then goes on to urge his friend Dr. Griffin to range himself on the side of the Jesuits since "the Jesuits have carried it away, for the Pope hath determined to give all unto their hands and hath already given it." [1]

The day after this letter was penned, six students of the English College wrote to Father Aquaviva, the General of the Society, expressing their gratitude for the services of Father Parsons in settling the difficulties at the College. They also begged the Father-General to allow him to stay on with them, and hint that he would be to them an acceptable Superior. The original, according to Mr. Tierney, is in two places "corrected and interlined by Father Parsons himself." Of the six who signed the paper, one was Edward

[1] Tierney, iii. Ap. lxxx.

Bennet, the writer of the letter just given, and two others, namely Trollope and Wolley, were among those whom Parsons subsequently sent away from Rome to finish their course at Rheims. The other four, including Edward Bennet, were sent to England a few months later.[1]

There can be little doubt that one of the changes recommended by Father Parsons in the administration of the College, was the substitution of an Englishman for an Italian as Rector. This, as has already been pointed out, was subsequently effected by the appointment of Father Parsons himself. But almost immediately the Italian, Father Agazzari, who was holding office during the discussions between Father Parsons and the students, prudently retired, and was succeeded for a year by another Italian Jesuit who made way for Father Parsons in November 1598.

It was just after the settlement of the dispute, that a decree, issued in regard to the degree of doctor of divinity by Pope Clement VIII, caused some suspicion among the English clergy that there were influences hostile to them at work in Rome. It had been represented—it is not clear by whom—either to the Pope or to the Cardinal Protector that it would be well to impose some restriction on the power of taking or granting the degree. It was said that, owing to the facility with which the doctorate was granted, men from England without the necessary qualifications of age or of learning had been the recipients of the doctor's cap. It was to remedy this that the Pope on September 19, 1597, published his decree. By it he ordains that so long as England is separated from the Roman See, no English divine shall receive the degree unless in addition to the usual four years of divinity study, he shall have spent a similar time in "perfecting and consolidating" his knowledge: he orders also that the fitness of any candidate shall be attested by a written certificate from the president of the college where he has studied, and from the Protector or Vice-Protector of the English nation.[2] The promulgation of this decree caused a great deal of excitement among the English clergy. They, perhaps not unnaturally, but certainly without reason, connected it with the late events

[1] Tierney, iii. Ap. lxxxii.

[2] *Ib.*, Ap. no. xviii.; cf. p. 40 n.

in the English College, and saw in it a Jesuit attempt to lower the status of the English clergy. As a matter of fact, as far as appears, the sole motive of the Pope was to raise the value of the doctorate in the opinion of the world.

But something more must be said about the general situation of Catholics in England, in order the better to understand the nervous condition of the English College students, even after peace had been proclaimed. From what has already been said it will have been evident to all the readers of these pages that the history of the English College is closely connected with the general state of Catholicity in England. Indeed, one of the most astonishing facts that appears in the story of the dark days of the Elizabethan persecutions and after, is this: whilst those that remained faithful to the old Faith exhibited heroic courage and virtue in their struggle for freedom of conscience, there were at the same time amongst them open and lamentable divisions and controversies, which undoubtedly contributed to diminish their numbers, and to sap their influence with their non-Catholic countrymen. Witness, for instance, the miserable disputes of Wisbeach, and the bitter epistolary and pamphlet war on the subject of the succession and other numerous questions of policy. The fact is undeniable; explain it as one may, it must be allowed to have existed.

Instead, therefore, of being as might have been expected, one united body, with one political and religious aim, the English Catholics, during the two centuries which followed the enforcement of the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion, were divided into various parties, which it became the policy of the Protestant authorities to pit one against the other, and thus foment internal dissensions. To-day we cannot but wonder when we see how the spirit of obstinate and violent animosity was aroused about some minor point of independence or jurisdiction, and what bitter jealousy was caused by the supposed progress or influence of some particular Order or religious body. Oh! the pity of it, is the thought uppermost in the mind, when the history of this period of Catholicity in England is read to-day. Oh! the pity of it, when one remembers that

behind all this, there existed a spirit of heroism in the face of persecution which led even to the dungeon and to death.

This is not the time to write at length of this strange contrast, but the memory of these divisions must be recalled if the real inward history of the difficulties which beset the English foundation in Rome are to be rightly understood; for they were in reality the reflection of the divisions which unfortunately existed in England between the secular clergy and the regulars, more especially the Jesuit Fathers. At this distance of time it may be said, without fear of offence, that the fact that the College in Rome, though founded for the education of secular priests, was directed by members of the Society of Jesus, was the main source of contention and strife. The General of the Society was opposed in the beginning to taking this burden, but it was forced upon him by Dr. Allen and others. Then again, as we have seen, he proposed to withdraw his subjects, when it became evident that their rule over the College was one of the reasons for the continual difficulties, but he was constrained not to do so by an order of the Pope, procured by means of Dr. Barret, the President of Douay.

On the whole, reading the documents and letters that exist in great abundance on the controversy, and studying the various visitations of the College made during the course of its history from its beginning to the suppression of the Society, the candid observer is bound to regret that the desire of the General of the Jesuits was not granted, and that some English secular priests were not appointed to rule the establishment. In the event, it certainly would have been the best solution for both parties, and in all probability the College would have become a much more flourishing centre of English ecclesiastical life than in fact it ever was during the many decades of Jesuit rule.

Even if it be allowed, that in the beginning the arrangement made by Allen was useful and perhaps even necessary, we are bound to confess that in the course of time it became the very kernel of the too numerous contests between superiors and students. That the Jesuit missionaries in England were zealous and self-sacrificing is demonstrated by their work and by the many who laid down their lives

for the Faith; but in the opinion of their secular brethren they became altogether too powerful. In 1623, a few years after Father Parsons' death, when the English province of the Society was founded, the Jesuit Fathers held or occupied a hundred missions or stations—one fourth of the whole number in England. And, unfortunately for the harmonious working of the seculars and regulars on the English Mission, the Jesuits, no doubt with the highest motives, successfully opposed the appointment of Bishops in England. When at length one was appointed by Pope Gregory XV (William Bishop), he was succeeded within a very short time by another (Richard Smith) whom continued opposition forced to retire to France, and for almost another fifty years England remained without a pastor. This naturally was a period of quarrels, jealousies and disorders, *de quibus melius est tacere quam loqui.*

It is impossible not to contrast this state with that of Ireland, which, subject as it was to the same governing powers, and suffering terrible persecution, was always able to preserve its old Hierarchy and to remain a Catholic nation, whilst England (like Norway and Sweden) for bad political reasons lost the blessing, and remained a prey to the dominant heresy. The want of union, resulting from the absence of proper authority, led undoubtedly to a diminution of the number of Catholics generally, and the fact that the College in Rome for the education of seculars remained during this period under the Jesuit superiors, led to unworthy suspicions of their desire to keep their hand over it, in order to serve their own purposes.

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that they were there by the express wish of those whom they had every right to consider as representing the English people and clergy. As time went on the fathers naturally clung to the direction of an establishment over which they had presided from the beginning. But the position was unfortunate, since the English clergy, having several times endeavoured to get the College transferred to the seculars without success, gradually lost their interest in it.

The consequences were inevitable. Among the secular clergy of England the reputation of the College was much

lowered. Many families no longer thought of sending their sons, who were intended for the Church, to Rome; the Jesuit College of St. Omer could not furnish a supply of subjects sufficiently advanced in their studies to be sent there, and that of Douay refused to send them. Ultimately the superiors of the College were constrained to change the original plan of the Institution, and to take youths not well grounded in their studies and not certain of their vocation. The Cardinal Protector and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda were obliged with grief to witness the decadence of the College, the revenues of which were devoted to the support of youths mostly discontented, who in the end were of much smaller advantage to the English Mission than might have been the case under different circumstances. During the same time the College of Douay was a most flourishing establishment with more than 150 students, which sent into England yearly from five to ten priests.

The authorities in Rome endeavoured to remedy this unsatisfactory state of things, and several Visitations were made at the College. It would serve no useful purpose to dwell on these in detail. Suffice it to say that, in spite of decrees and regulations, little or no advantage resulted. In vain, for example, did Propaganda, in order to meet the complaints of the English clergy, publish orders (like that of March 4, 1624) prohibiting the students from entering into the religious life; in vain did Pope Alexander VII in 1667 ordain that every English College student should bind himself by oath to serve the English Mission as a secular priest, and not to enter any religious Order; in vain were repeated demands for support for the College made by the Cardinal Protector, the Nuncio in Brussels, to Douay, and to the chief missionary priests in England. The replies were cold excuses or reiterated expressions of complaints, as may be seen in the papers still preserved. The Roman College did not interest them and the reason is clear: the secular clergy had not the control in what they regarded, it must be allowed with reason, as their own house.

For the period 1620 to 1700 the Registers are apparently missing, but from documents in Propaganda and in the

English College archives, it is abundantly clear that the Roman Institution does not, in results, compare favourably with the other English Colleges at Douay, Lisbon, Paris or Liége. Whilst the revenue of the Roman house was greater than that of the other Colleges, the number of the students was smaller, and the number of priests who ultimately went to the English Mission was small in proportion to the number of the students.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Monte Porzio was purchased by the College. A century before, the Society of Jesus had bought the property for 6000 crowns, and had spent another 6000 on the buildings, about twice as much as it should have cost, according to the complaint of the Jesuits themselves. The English College had used it during nearly the entire century as a *villeggiatura*, and the Society received a small rent for it. In 1703 the Jesuits petitioned Cardinal Caprara, the Protector of the Venerabile, to buy from them the property for 6000 crowns; and the Cardinal, who was unwilling to give up Monte Porzio as the place of *villeggiatura* for the English students, by a decree of March 13, 1704, sanctioned the sale for 6000 crowns. It was not, however, till April 3, 1708, that the deed of sale was executed.[1]

From a statement made by the College authorities in 1667 to Cardinal Barberini[2] we learn the following particulars about the state of the Institution. Up to June 6, 1667, it is stated that 410 priests had been sent on the Mission from the College. Of these fifty were authors of books of controversy, 130 had suffered imprisonment and torture, and above forty had laid down their lives.

Since the last Visit in 1630, sixty-nine labourers had gone to the English vineyard and two more were ready to go. All the students at this time (1667) in the College "are of excellent dispositions, being almost all of genteel families." Since 1630, the young priests of the establishment had been exercising the duty of catechising and had been the means of converting sixty Protestants to the Catholic Faith.

In the Venerabile at the time there were eight Jesuits,

[1] Lib. ii. p. 130, and Deed of Sale, lib. 442, p. 136.
[2] *Scritt.*, 47, 5.

MONTE PORZIO

[*To face p.* 116.

THE UPPER GALLERY

[*To face p.* 117.

two of the convictors belonging to the Society; twenty-two scholars, of whom only one was a convictor, two lawyers *ad lites*, one of whom was rent-gatherer, the other convictor and nine servants—in all forty-one mouths to be fed.

The small number of the students is accounted for. First, because in the time of Pope Gregory XIII the College had an income of 13,000 crowns besides great gifts to support the fifty students on the foundation, whereas at the time (1667) the income was barely 5000 crowns. Secondly, because the College was heavily in debt. Thirdly, because the fire in 1653 (which, by the way, was said to have been caused by some turbulent students and for which some were put into prison [1]) had caused so much talk that parents would not send their sons to the College, and eight that were to have come from St. Omer's refused to do so. Fourthly, because in 1655 four students became religious.

Further, the Plague of 1655 prevented arrivals and three priests had left for England, two had been dispensed from the oath; some students had died and one was sent away. But for these causes there should have been thirty-five or forty students at the College in 1667, as there had been usually since the Visit of 1630.

[1] *Scritt.*, 27, no. 1.

CHAPTER VI

SALVETE FLORES MARTYRUM

FROM these melancholy reflections we may usefully turn to consider one of the most glorious pages in the history of the English College in Rome; as glorious as, if not indeed more glorious, than any similar Institution can boast of possessing: the page which records the martyrdom for the Faith of so many of its *alumni*. Proud indeed must be every son of the Roman Alma Mater at the thought of the heroic sufferings and deaths of so many of the old students of the Venerabile, and of the fact that the very foundations of the College were washed, as it were, by the blood of the many martyrs who went forth as priests from its walls to help to preserve the Catholic religion in England. They were true heroes in every sense of the word, knowing as they did that they were preparing themselves in their college life for certain persecution and possible death, in the exercise of their ministry in England. This is why the great St. Charles of Milan thought it an honour to receive these young men when passing through his metropolitan city on their way to and from their own country. This is why the sweet St. Philip, who lived close to the College, on meeting them in the streets was wont to salute them with the words of the hymn for the feast of the Holy Innocents, *Salvete Flores Martyrum.*

They had the spirit of martyrs even during the years of their preparation, as the *Annual Letters* prove, and their successors of to-day may well be proud to occupy their places. For example, this is what is written in the very early days of the College about the students: "Omitting for the present further mention of their piety and virtue, their detachment from earthly desires and the goods and conveniences of this life, the loftiness of their purpose to

aim at nothing merely transitory or mortal, and many similar virtues, it were hardly possible to express their great yearning for martyrdom. So eager are they to shed their life-blood for Christ, that this forms the constant topic of their conversation, and of the trial-sermons delivered in the Refectory at meals. Nor can our Fathers in their domestic exhortations awaken a livelier interest than by urging them to shed their blood, and to lay down their lives for the Faith. The louder the boastings of the heretics, and the more terrible the reports of the cruelties committed in England, the more ardent are their desires. So much so that, brooking no delay, many would shorten the time of their studies to be sooner free to rush into the fray, reckoning little of the fame and honour to be acquired by a full course of the more arduous branches of learning."

Moreover, as the writer goes on to show, many before coming to their studies had already had practical experience of what these persecutions meant. "It is indeed," he writes, "amazing to behold such fervour in these young men, of whom not a few have, in the cause of religion, tasted of threatenings, outrage and crosses, thus experiencing the sweetness of suffering for the name of Christ. It is scarce two years since one of them was cruelly flogged, his ears were bored through with red-hot iron, and he himself thrust into a foul dungeon, whence, in consideration of his youth, he was released after a confinement of some months. From that prison he wrote a letter in answer to his father, who sought by threats and reproaches to force him back from the Catholic Faith. His reply, having been deemed worthy of publication by Cardinal Paliotti, can be read by all. It is a wonderful expression of the fervour and joy in suffering that inspires its youthful writer, whose conduct at present (1580) in this College proves the abundance of Divine Grace he has earned by these torments and inflictions."

This student's name was apparently John Tippets, who came to the College in 1580 from Douay with five others, and who, having been ordained in 1584, entered the Carthusian Order and died in religion. The description of the sufferings of this young Confessor for religion given

in the *Douay Diaries* is as follows: "One Tippet a younge man sumtyme student of Doway was apprehended here in this city and brought before the biteship (Bishop) of London and Mr. Recorder, where he was straytly examined in matters of conscience; to the which directly he answered as a good Christian Catholic, and through God's grace could not be perverted. Wherefore the 'biteship' and the recorder being outrageously moved against him, contrary to all justice and law, they condemned him to be whipped at a cart's tail, and to be bored through the ear with a hot iron, which was executed in most despiteful and cruellest manner that might be executed to any rogue . . . the good and godly young man bearing all with wonderful patience, not letting to make protestation of his faith all the way of his martyrdom, and as yet (Dec. 1579) contrary to their own laws, they keep him in Newgate." [1]

Other similar cases are mentioned in these records. One youth was kept three days hanging by the feet to shake his determination to become a Catholic. Another of good family, after practising his religion in secret through fear of offending his father, fled to the Continent and to Rome: another, William Brookesby, the son of a rich father, abandoned his worldly prospects and refused an advantageous marriage, the solicitations of his relatives failing to turn him from his purpose of studying for the priesthood. Again, "A young student was arrested at the same time as his patron, a noble man and a Catholic. [This youth was] that most glorious martyr of Christ, Sherwin. As neither threats nor promises could extort from him a word of information against Catholics, he was cast into a filthy hole and deprived of all necessaries of life. In the darkness and the squalor of this dungeon, the young man was visited with sweetness of heavenly consolation even so as to have a vision of the death agony of Christ, by the contemplation of which he was greatly strengthened.

"After some days he was again led out to be examined, but as they could not get a word from him they struck him in the face, adding threats of scourging and the rack. He was thrust again into his dungeon, where he suffered sharp

[1] *Douay Diaries*, i. 149.

rheumatic pains from the damp. Being brought before the court for a third time, he was again plied with questions, but without result. At length the judge, being exasperated, ordered him to be thrust into his noisome den to rot there unless he would inform. It was also hinted that should he remain obstinate, he would be sent to Bridewell, a house of correction for malefactors and vagabonds, to be daily flogged there. He passed many weeks in this deplorable plight, when, having been set free by the Divine Goodness, he joined us here." [1]

At the same time as the above youthful confessor for the Faith, there came to the English College in Rome "twenty-three youths of great promise, most of them being of gentle birth and of tried constancy in the Faith." One of these was importuned by parents and friends, and cast into prison because he would not renounce his Faith and conform to the established religion. By the help of God he escaped and managed to cross into Flanders. And, adds the writer of the *Annual Letters* of 1580, " many others have given no less brilliant proof of their unswerving loyalty to the Faith."

At this period there came to the College, not as a student for the priesthood but as a lay-pensioner, an Englishman named George Gilbert, who had already done so much for the Catholic cause in England and who died in Rome on October 6, 1583. When the Jesuit fathers first came to work in England, Gilbert became their constant guide and benefactor. At his own cost he set up a printing press for them and defrayed all the cost. He was regarded as the chief helper of the proscribed seminary priests; most of his property was sequestered, and to avoid arrest he came to the Continent and took refuge in the English College at Rome. On departing from England Gilbert left Fr. Parsons a sum of money and seven horses for the use of the missionaries, and on his way through Rouen and Rheims, though at the time comparatively poor, he made generous offerings to some nuns in distress and to the College. He had the spirit of a martyr, and " since his arrival at Rome," says the writer of the *Annual Letters*, " he ever evinces the same earnestness in the cause of religion. He was accom-

[1] Foley, *Records*, etc., vi. 75.

panied hither by a young relative of the illustrious martyr, Sir Thomas More, who had conferred many benefits on the Fathers of the Society and the Catholic cause, and whose conduct amongst us proves that he is not unworthy of his sainted kinsman."[1] This was Charles Basset, who had to leave the College later on account of ill-health, and who died at Rheims in 1584. He was a rival of his friend George Gilbert in generous sacrifices for religion. He left his money to Douay College.[2]

An interesting benefaction to the College in Rome, made by George Gilbert somewhere about 1582, and certainly between 1580 and 1583, was the series of pictures of the English martyrs on the walls of the College church. Between 1580 and 1585 many important concessions were made to the College by Pope Gregory XIII *viva voce*—that the relics of these martyrs might be used, in default of others, in the consecration of altars; that the *Te Deum* might be sung on the news of the death of any missionary priest for the Faith, and that their pictures with their names attached might be painted in the Church of the English College. It was apparently George Gilbert who arranged for the series of sixty-three martyrs of England, from Blessed John Fisher, who laid down his life on June 22, 1535, to Blessed Richard Thirkeld, who suffered on May 20, 1583. The sight of these pictures helped to keep up the heroic spirit which existed, according to every testimony, among the students of the Venerabile, and of which they gave ample proof when their time came to return to the missionary field in England.

Here it is possible to do little more than record the names of those *alumni* of the College who gave the supreme testimony to their Faith on the scaffold. The roll of honour is a glorious one. It contains the names of six who were declared Beati, and of thirty-six who were pronounced Venerable Servants of God by the Decree of the Congregation of Rites of December 29, 1880. Besides these may be counted some seven others whose cause was not considered sufficiently certain for their names to be included in the official recognition of martyrdom.

The first College student to lay down his life, as has

[1] Foley, vi. 77. [2] *Ib.*, p. 153.

already been noted, was *Ralph Sherwin*, one of the party of priests including Fr. Parsons and Fr. Campion, who were entertained in 1580 by St. Charles Borromeo, when they were passing through Milan. He suffered death at Tyburn on December 1, 1581, together with Fr. Campion and Fr. Alexander Briant, a student of Rheims College. "As Sherwin," says the writer of the *Annual Letters*, "belongs to us and was the first of our students to lay down his life for the Faith, I will here set down a brief sketch taken from a work on the English persecution, which has lately come out. It is hardly possible to tell the ardour wherewith Sherwin yearned to fly to the help of his wretched country. While here in Rome, the news of the inflictions and tortures which his fellow countrymen were made to suffer, far from daunting, fired him with more intense longing. His disposition, talents and virtue would have enabled him to have been of no slight use to his country, had he not been seized soon after landing. Laden with irons he was cast into a darksome dungeon, yet his soul was free. . . . At length he was threatened with the rack and there was every appearance that the threat would be put in execution. On his part he prepared himself to suffer torture and even death. . . . Having received sentence of death in company of thirteen others, he was on the 1st of December placed on a sledge or hurdle, with Briant (Father Campion being placed on another by himself) and dragged through the streets to Tyburn. . . . Campion having been executed, the hangman, as if to terrify him, seized on him with his blood-stained hands, saying: 'Come, Sherwin, and take your reward.' Sherwin turned to him with a smiling countenance, embraced him, kissing his gory hands. The bystanders were so moved at this that they compelled the sheriff to let him speak if he would. He, therefore, took his stand on the ladder and made a most powerful address to the people, wherein he amazed all by the fervent expression of his interior joy. He blessed them all, forgave everyone, prayed for all, calling his persecutor and those who had sought his life his dearest friends. Finally his neck being in the noose, he continued till his last breath to exclaim in tones of unspeakable joy and with a cheerful countenance:

'Jesu, Jesu, be to me Jesus!' while the crowd cried out 'May the Lord God receive your blessed soul, good Sherwin.' Thus adorned with the martyr's crown did he fall asleep in the Lord.

"Praise be to God and to the Blessed Virgin Mary."[1]

The next student of the Venerabile to lay down his life for his religion was *Luke Kirby*, a native of the diocese of Durham, or according to the *Douay Diary*, of Colchester. He was a student at Douay before coming to Rome, and was ordained at Cambray September 16, 1577. Passing into England for some months, Fr. Luke Kirby returned to Douay on his way to Rome in July 1578. He was only a short time in the College and formed one of the party who accompanied Fr. Parsons, Campion and the martyr Sherwin from Rome in 1580. Leaving Douay, on his return to England in the July of that year, he was arrested at the same time as his companion, Blessed Ralph Sherwin, and thrown into prison. Whilst there he was tortured by what was known as "the Scavenger's daughter." He was a prisoner in the Tower of London in 1581, and suffered death at Tyburn May 20, 1582.

In the *Annals* for 1582 another priest, *John Shert*, executed for his religion with Fr. Luke Kirby, is named as a student of the English College. He, after studying at Rheims, had apparently gone to Rome as a subdeacon to study his theology in 1576,[2] and would seem to have been one of the students lodged in the old Hospice prior to the opening of the College proper. He returned to Douay as a priest in July 1578,[3] and left for England the following month: being, as the *Douay Diary* says, "the first student of the Roman Seminary" to join the English Mission.[4] The account of his martyrdom is thus given in the *Annual Letters*: "After undergoing the most exquisite torments, the rack and the hardships of imprisonment, they (Luke Kirby and John Shert) were condemned to a shameful death for the brilliant answer they made to their judges in defence of the faith. Bound to a hurdle, they were dragged by horses from the Tower of London to the place

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. pp. 78–80.
[2] *Douay Diary*, i. p. 113.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 142.
[4] *Ib.*

of execution before an immense crowd of people. Having openly professed their faith and innocence, they were hanged on the gallows, their heads were next severed, and they were disembowelled and quartered. Their quarters, which were parboiled, would have been placed over the City gates, were it not that the people, moved by the fate of others who had lately been executed for the same cause and with the like barbarity, began to murmur. Hence, after burning their entrails, they buried the mutilated remains of the martyrs under the gibbet. Certain Catholic noblemen, having marked the spot, took counsel to have these precious relics removed, which was successfully accomplished under favour of the night. Not only have several parts of England been enriched by this priceless treasure, but portions of it have been brought even to this College.

"The Divine Goodness has had regard to the ardent devotion wherewith the Catholics venerate these hallowed remains. Many are wont to go to the city gates or to London Bridge, where the heads and quarters of these martyrs are placed, and to avoid suspicion inquire of the bystanders who these traitors were; they then secretly venerate them and put up a silent prayer. Besides those just mentioned, two other priests have laid down their lives with no less fortitude and constancy, viz. Laurence Richardson, for some time a resident here, and Thomas Cottam, a novice."[1] The former was ordained at Douay in 1577, and probably came to Rome between that and 1581, when he is reported as being already in prison in England. He was known also under the name of Laurence Richardson.[2]

The second, *Thomas Cottam*, was ordained at Douay in 1580, and sent to the English Mission in the same year. He had previously been at Douay in 1577, in which year he received the orders of subdeacon and deacon at Cambray. In 1579, still as a deacon, he went to Rome with six others, "partim devotionis partim studiorum causa."[3] He returned in the April of 1580 before his ordination on 25th of May at Soisson. He went to England with Fr. Campion's party in June of the same year. Although the stay of this holy martyr in Rome was very brief, his name

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 86. [2] *Douay Diary*, i. p. 181. [3] *Ib.*

is given in an early list of "students who died in the persecutions in England." [1]

The same year, 1582, at York, there suffered Father *William Lacey*, who was ordained priest in Rome and whose name is entered in the old list of English College students who gave their lives for religion. He had married the widowed mother of Father Joseph Creswell, the Jesuit, and upon her death came to Rome to prepare for the priesthood. On his return to England, after exercising his sacred ministry for a short time, he was taken at York, and after being committed to prison in the Castle was sentenced to death as a priest and executed on August 22, 1582.

The following year, 1583, on May 30, Father *William Hart* received the martyr's crown also at York. He had been educated in his early youth at Lincoln College, Oxford, and on his conversion there went to Douay to finish his humanities. Thence he came to the English College in Rome, and being ordained, left for the English Mission with forty-six other priests, thirteen of whom became martyrs. A letter, written to Father Agazzari in April 1583, describes the great work that this late student (*vestræ olim disciplinæ alumnus*) was doing in the city of York. And in the same month Allen received the notice of his glorious death "for the Church of Christ and the authority of His Vicar." "He was a youth," adds the writer, "as you know, innocent and modest, and a learned and holy priest. When he was led to the scaffold (where *inter iniquos reputatus est*) many saluted him with kind and respectful words." [2] After his execution a multitude of those who were present, even at the risk of arrest, endeavoured to possess themselves of his clothes and other relics of the holy martyr.[3]

The year 1584 gave four and possibly five English College students to the Church as martyrs, two, *George Haydock* and *Thomas Hamerford*, at Tyburn on the same day, February 12; the third, *William Chaplain*,[4] was ordained

[1] *Archives*, Paper B. *Nomi degli Alunni morti fra i tormenti nelle persecuzioni d'Inghilterra.*

[2] *Douay Diary*, i. p. 353.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 327.

[4] He is among the *dilati* and his name therefore does not appear in the Decree.

priest in the College by Bishop Goldwell in 1584, and left for England immediately afterwards to receive his martyr's crown the same year. According to the *Annual Letters* for this same year, the College gave a fourth martyr to the Church during its course in the person of *John Munden*, "a priest and former student of this College," [1] who was executed together with George Haydock and Thomas Hamerford. Munden had held a fellowship at Oxford, and, being deprived of it on account of his religion, came abroad and from Rheims passed to Rome, where he was ordained in 1582. In that year he left for England, where he was soon discovered, and after a year's imprisonment in the Tower, suffered at Tyburn with his two fellow-students, February 12, 1584. To this number we may add the name of James Lomax, who was ordained at the College in 1582. Dr. Barret, the Rector of Rheims, in a letter to Fr. Agazzari dated August 11, 1583, says: "P. Lomax was captured on his very landing, and not without a certain carelessness on his part, as some think; for, when accosted by a person, 'You appear to me to be a priest,' 'I am,' he replied, and was consequently arrested." He is said to have died in chains in prison this year, 1584.

The next English College student to receive the palm of martyrdom was *John Lowe*, a Londoner, who came to the Venerabile in 1581 and was ordained by Bishop Goldwell in 1583. Just before Christmas of that year, he passed through Rheims on his way back to England. "Eight days ago," writes Dr. Barret the Rector to Fr. Agazzari on December 28, 1583, "Father Lowe started on his journey, strong in body and soul, and much stronger in his determination to face all dangers." [2] The blessed martyr had been a Protestant minister before his conversion, and had made his studies at Douay before coming to Rome to receive his Orders. He was arrested at York, and suffered there on March 15, or as one authority says, on December 10, 1586.

In this same year Fr. *John Harrison* died when in prison for his religion. He had been ordained deacon in 1577 at Douay, leaving on August 2 of that year for the

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 111. [2] *Douay Diary*, i. 334.

English College at Rome, where he was admitted as a convictor among the *alumni* of the Venerabile. He apparently returned to Douay, and was ordained priest in March 1580. He went to England in April 1581. Br. Foley identifies this blessed John Harrison with the priest who died in prison in 1586. The exact date is not known, but it would have been about that time. According to the history: "Upon Monday in Easter-week, the house of Mr. Heathe at Cumberford (in the north) was searched by Thornes and Cawdall, and Mr. Harrison, a priest, there apprehended. They so cruelly used Mrs. Heathe at that time, tossing and tumbling her, that she, thereby frightened, died the Friday following."

The following year, 1587, added one more English College student to the roll of heroes. This was *Martin Sherton*, or *Sherson*, born in the diocese of York. He came to Douay in 1580, and was confirmed there in the chapel of the President, by the Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Goldwell, who was passing through Douay at that time. In March of the following year, 1581, he left to complete his studies in Rome,[1] and entered the College in May of that year.[2] He left Rome on account of his health in May 1585, and returning to Douay was ordained on April 5, 1586. He left for the English Mission shortly after—on June 16, 1586. His ministry did not last long, as he was arrested in London as a priest and died in chains in the Marshalsea prison in the February of 1587.

The year 1588 added four more names of English College students to the golden list of martyrs. The first was *Robert Morton*, a Yorkshireman. He entered the College at Rheims in 1573 and began his theology the following year. He came to Rome in 1586, and after passing some months as a convictor, became an *alumnus* of the College in April 1587, and in the same month received the minor orders, the subdeaconate and the diaconate. He obtained permission to return to Douay to be ordained priest. He reached his old seminary on May 27, and had the priesthood conferred on him by the Cardinal of Guise in his private chapel at Rheims on the 14th of June of the same year,

[1] *Douay Diary*, pp. 167, 177. [2] Foley, vi. p. 147.

1587. He departed a fortnight afterwards for the English Mission, but was quickly discovered in London, arrested, and on August 18, 1588, "was hanged, bowelled and quartered upon a new pair of gallows set up in Lincoln's Inn Fields." Bishop Challoner says that "Hugh Moore, a Lincolnshire gentleman and convert," was put to death with him, both behaving "with admirable patience and constancy, yea with joy and pleasure." They were not allowed to speak to the people, the heretics fearing the effect of their burning words upon the minds of the hearers in favour of the old religion. No less than twenty-one priests, ten laymen and one lady (total thirty-two) were butchered in that fatal year.[1]

The second of the four students to suffer this year, 1588, was Father *Richard Leigh*, who went to Rheims in 1581, where, having studied his humanities, he was sent to the Roman Seminary in September 1582. He became an inmate of the College in the November of that year, and took the mission oath on June 29, 1583. He was ordained priest in February 1586, and passed through Douay on his way to England in the June of that year. He was soon discovered to be a priest, and being apprehended and charged, was cast into prison and banished. He, however, managed to return again to continue his missionary labours, but was seized a second time, and being condemned to death, suffered at Tyburn August 30, 1588. "He was known," writes Br. Foley, "by the *alias* of *Garth* and was betrayed on one occasion to Justice Young, by the unhappy apostate Anthony Tyrrel." [2]

Father *Edward James*, the third *alumnus* to die for his faith in 1588, was admitted to the English College in September 1581, was ordained subdeacon and deacon in the College chapel by the Venerable Bishop Goldwell in 1582, and received the sacred priesthood the following year. He suffered the usual cruel death at Chichester on October 1, 1588. He had as companion another priest, Father Ralph Crockett, on the scaffold. "Their quarters were set up upon poles, and one of Mr. Crockett's, which had fallen down, was carried off to Douay, where Bishop

[1] See Foley, vi. p. 74.

[2] *Records*, vi. p. 157.

Challoner states that he had seen it.[1] The *Annual Letters* state that Edward James did not leave Rome for the Mission till September 1585. In that month he and three companions, Robert Bennett, Edmund Calverley and Christopher Atherton, "were admitted to kiss the feet of His Holiness (Sixtus V), who received them most graciously and made them a present of two hundred crowns for their journey."[2]

The fourth student to suffer this same year was *Christopher Buxton*. He was a native of Derbyshire, and had received his early education in the private school kept by the intrepid martyr Nicholas Garlick, at Tideswell in the Peak country. In 1581 he went to Rheims, and two years later had the tonsure and minor orders. In 1584 he came to Rome and received Holy Orders in 1586. Leaving for the English Mission in the April of 1587, and passing through Rheims, he set out for England in the June of that year. He was arrested within a year of his arrival, and suffered martyrdom at Canterbury with two fellow-priests in October 1588. He was the last of the heroic trio to suffer, and had to witness the horrible cruelties inflicted upon his two companion priests, Robert Wilcox and Robert Widmerpool. At the last moment his persecutors, hoping that his constancy might be shaken by the sight, offered him his life if he would conform to the established religion. To this proposal he replied that "he would not purchase corruptible life at such a rate, and that if he had a hundred lives he would willingly lay them all down in defence of the faith."[3] Whilst he offered up his life at Canterbury, on the same day his fellow-student in the Venerabile was dying in the same cause at Chichester.

In 1589 and 1590 two more English College *alumni* suffered martyrdom. *Christopher Bailey*, or *Balas*, the first of these two to receive the crown, was a Durham county man and a convert in early life; coming to the College in 1583 when only nineteen years old, he received minor orders the same year from Bishop Goldwell. In September 1584 he left Rome on account of health and came to Douay,

[1] *Records*, vi. p. 144. [2] *Ib.*, p. 113.
[3] *Menology of England and Wales*, p. 469.

where he was ordained in 1587, and he went to England on November 2, 1588. He was soon arrested as a seminary priest, imprisoned and cruelly racked, "being suspended for twenty-four hours together; all which he bore with wonderful patience and courage, though otherwise of an infirm body and tending to consumption." He suffered death in Fleet Street, London, March 4, 1590. At the same time there were executed Nicholas Horner upon a gibbet in Smithfield, and Alexander Blake upon a gibbet in Gray's Inn Lane before his own house, for receiving priests. Of these one was a tailor, the other a poor man that kept lodgings.[1]

In 1590 *Edmund Duke* laid down his life for his religion. He had come to Rheims in the March of 1583, and was confirmed by the Bishop of Soissons the same year in the chapel of the Cardinal of Rheims. He was sent to Rome for his theological studies with nine companions in the August of 1584, where he received the minor orders from Bishop Goldwell the following year. In 1589 he left the College for the English Mission, passing through Rheims on October 23 of that year, and remaining at the College till March 22, when he departed with three other priests, namely Richard Hill, Richard Holiday and James Hogg. They landed in the north of England and were immediately seized, and all four suffered death upon the scaffold on May 27, 1590.

The year 1591 gave two more of the English College students to the roll of the Church's martyrs. *Polidore Palmer*, alias *Oliver Plasden*, after studying at Rheims, was sent on to Rome in March 1584. He was ordained subdeacon and deacon in November, and priest in December 1587, at the age of five-and-twenty. In April of the following year he reached Rheims on his way to England, and remained there till the 2nd of September. After labouring probably in the neighbourhood of London from 1588 till the end of 1591, he was arrested whilst assisting at a Mass celebrated in the house of the martyr, Swithun Wells, by his friend Edmund Jennings on November 8, 1591. He was seized by Topcliffe and his pursuivants together with all the others assisting at the Holy Sacrifice,

[1] Foley, vi. p. 160.

and executed at Tyburn on December 10, 1591, together with his friend and companion at the English College, Eustace White. "They suffered," says the *Douay Diary*, "the penalty of high treason not because they were traitors, but because as Catholic priests who had celebrated Mass, which in England is punished by the penalties attached to high treason." [1]

Eustace White was a native of Lincolnshire. He was born at Louth and became a convert in early life, coming to study at Rheims in October 1584. At the age of twenty-six he was admitted to the English College in Rome, being already apparently a priest. He remained at the College till October 1588, when he left for the English Mission in company with the martyr already mentioned, Christopher Bailey or Balas. The ordinary account of his martyrdom states that he was arrested at the Mass celebrated in Swithun Wells's house with Fr. Plasden and others. "He was cruelly tortured in prison to make him betray his fellow Catholics and at one time was hung up by the hands for eight hours together, but all was in vain. Nothing could shake his constancy, and all he did was to cry out: 'Lord, more pain if Thou pleasest, and more patience.'" He was condemned merely for his priesthood, and suffered at Tyburn with the blessed company [2] of his fellow-student at the Venerabile, Polydore Plasden, on December 10, 1591.

The next year suffered *Thomas Portmore* or *Pormort*, the son of a Lincolnshire gentleman. He was reconciled to the Church apparently at the age of twenty, and after spending a few months at the Seminary at Rheims, in 1581 he went on to Rome and entered the English College in May. In 1587, upon the petition of Cardinal Allen, he was dispensed from the irregularity contracted by heresy and received Sacred Orders. On account of ill-health, on March 6, 1588, he left the College and became one of the household of Dr. Owen Lewis, the Bishop of Cassano. He subsequently left Rome for the English Mission, and in 1591 fell into the hands of the persecuting authorities. Being confined in the Tower, he was cruelly racked, "his

[1] *Douay Diary*, i. p. 243.
[2] *Menology of England and Wales*, p. 593.

body being all disjointed and his belly broken" to make him disclose the names of those who had assisted and harboured him. Portmore was condemned and executed on the double charge of being a priest and of reconciling one John Barwys to the Church of Rome. He was hanged, drawn and quartered at St. Paul's Churchyard, February 20, 1592.

The next English College student to carry off the palm was *Joseph Lampton*, who was born at Malton in Yorkshire in 1570. He came to Rheims College in September 1584, and was there five years, setting out for Rome on August 18, 1589. At his request, we are told, his course at the English College was shortened in order to allow him to hasten to the harvest of souls in England. He left on April 22, 1592, and on landing in England was almost immediately apprehended, cast into prison and tried for high treason because he was a priest. He suffered a savage and most horrible butchery at Newcastle-on-Tyne, July 27, 1593, being cut down whilst still alive, and a felon from the prison, as a ransom for his own life, was appointed to carry out the barbarous task of disembowelling and quartering the martyr. In the midst of his barbarous task he was filled with horror at what he was doing, and refused at all costs to continue. The sheriff was obliged to seek for another, whilst the sufferer, still living, with invincible patience and courage endured a torment that shocked all present. At length a butcher from a neighbouring village was brought who completed the ripping up and disembowelling.

Father *John Cornelius* or *Mohun* was born of Irish parents in 1557 at Bodmin in Cornwall. Giving evidence of great abilities, Sir John Arundel sent him to Oxford, but his attachment to the Catholic religion made him go over to Rheims, which he entered September 26, 1579. He was already prepared for his theology, and so in February 1580 proceeded to Rome and entered the English College on April 1 of that year. He is said to have had exceptional abilities, and on the feast of St. Stephen, 1581, he was selected to make an address before the Pope in the Sistine Chapel. He was ordained priest and left for the Mission in 1583.

Both before and after his arrival in Rome he was remarkable " for the holiness of his life, his earnest spirit of prayer and for the many voluntary mortifications he practised: " and to these he added when in England, a zealous devotion to the work of his ministry. He was assiduous in preaching and catechising, in administering the Sacraments, in his care of the sick and poor, to whom he refused nothing which he had to give. He was treacherously arrested in the house of the widow of Sir John Arundel, and with him three laymen, who were the companions of his martyrdom. Father Cornelius was at first examined at the sheriff's house and then sent to London, where he appeared before the Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who endeavoured both by persuasions and torture to make him betray his fellow-Catholics. As their efforts were in vain, he was again conducted to Dorchester to take his trial. The three days preceding the assizes he spent almost without eating or sleeping, devoting himself wholly to prayer and exhortations to his fellow-prisoners. The three laymen were brought to the bar at the same time. These were " the Venerable Thomas Bosgrave, a Cornish gentleman, whose offence was, that when Cornelius was hurried off to prison he had followed him to offer him his own hat, saying that such was his respect for his function that he could not see him carried away bare-headed; the Venerable John Carey and Patrick Salmon, natives of Dublin, who were apprehended for being found in the company of Cornelius, when he was seized at Lady Arundel's house.

" All were sentenced to death, the priest for high treason by reason of his character, and his companions for felony by assisting him: but all were assured that their lives would be spared, if they would conform to the Protestant religion. The first to suffer was John Carey, a man of remarkable courage. He kissed the rope as it was put round his neck, and exclaimed, ' O precious collar,' and then made a profession of his faith. Patrick Salmon, the next, was greatly beloved for his virtues and before suffering admonished his friends and all those assembled, that the only way of securing their salvation was to embrace the Faith for which he died. Thomas Bosgrave, who followed,

was a man of reading, and made a speech on the certainty of the Catholic Faith, which was listened to with attention and without contradiction on the part of the ministers who were present.

"Lastly came the turn of Father Cornelius, who first kissed the feet of his companions hanging on the gallows, and then saluted the gibbet in the words of St. Andrew: 'Oh, good cross, long desired.' He was not allowed to address the people, but took the opportunity of announcing that when in London he had been received into the Society of Jesus and that his seizure had prevented him going abroad for his novitiate. After hanging awhile he was cut down and quartered."[1] He suffered on July 4, 1594.

To this account may be added some details from his biography in the *Records S.J.*[2] "The head placed at the top of the gallows crowned the triumph with which Father Cornelius, quitting the burthen of the flesh, flew joyfully to his heavenly reward. . . . The martyr's head was seen surrounded with rays of light, whence this precious relic came into the hands of the Catholics, having been taken down by order of the magistrates fifteen days after, at the desire of the people, who had suffered much in their crops from heavy storms, and remembered that they had already experienced this visitation on similar occasions."

Another English College martyr in 1594 was *John Ingram*. He was the son of a Warwickshire gentleman and was brought up a Protestant, being a student of New College, Oxford. He was, however, reconciled to the Church and expelled from his College for his recusancy. Upon this he went abroad, but on his way to Rheims from Douay he fell, with his companions, into the hands of soldiers. He managed, however, to escape, and reached Rheims on October 26, 1582. On April 15, 1583, he went for a time to the Jesuit College at Pont-à-Mousson. He entered the English Seminary at Rome in 1584, and received the minor Orders from Bishop Goldwell in the following year. He was ordained priest on December 3, 1589, and left the College for the English Mission in September 1591. His labours were in the north of England on the Scottish Border, and

[1] *Menology*, p. 306. [2] Vol. iii. series vii. p. 435.

there he was arrested and sent to London. Whilst in the Tower he was several times submitted to torture in order to constrain him to betray his fellow-Catholics. As he maintained complete silence, it was decided to send him to be tried in the north. His trial was at Durham, and he was condemned to death at the same time as the martyr John Bost, but he was executed at Newcastle on July 25, 1594.

On April 7, 1595, died as a martyr at York Father *Henry Walpole*, S.J. He was born of a very ancient family in Norfolk, his parents being pious Catholics, and having many sons of whom Henry was the eldest, being born in 1559. He was sent to study at both Oxford and Cambridge, and then betook himself to London to study law. He had studied many books of religious controversy, and was thus enabled to bring not a few into the Church, which brought him under the notice of the Government of Queen Elizabeth. In 1582, therefore, he determined to abandon the legal career, and went to study for the Church, reaching Rheims on July 7 of that year. On the 2nd of March of the following year, 1583, he left Rheims for the English College in Rome, strongly recommended by Dr. Barret, the Rector. He received the sentence of death with joy, and suffered on the same day as Father Henry Rawlins, a student of Rheims, and immediately after him. They were dragged to the place of execution on the same hurdle.

Father *Robert Southwell*, S.J., who became a martyr for the Faith on February 21, 1595, although not a student of the English College, was for a time prefect of studies in the Venerabile and may thus find a place among its martyrs.

Edward Thwing, who suffered martyrdom at Lancaster on July 26, 1600, was born at Thirsk near York. He studied at Rheims, and thence went to the English College at Rome in 1587. He returned to Rheims on account of his health before his ordination to the priesthood, which he received at Laon December 20, 1590, having been appointed to read philosophy at the College a few months previously. He subsequently taught Hebrew and Greek. One who was well acquainted with him at this time, describes his piety, meek-

ness, patience and spirit of mortification, which caused him to be much beloved in the College. He suffered from ill-health, but, being sent over to England, he recovered and was able to do good work on the Mission. He was arrested and confined in Lancaster Castle, from which prison he wrote two letters to the President of Rheims, expressing his joy at the prospect of his speedy trial and certain condemnation for his religion. He was judged to suffer death for his priesthood, and was executed together with Robert Nutter, another student of Rheims.

The year 1601 gave another English College student to the roll of Christian heroes. This was *Robert Middleton*, who entered the College in 1597 at the age of twenty-six. He was born at York and made his early studies at Seville. He was ordained in Rome and was sent to England on April 20, 1598. He laboured mostly in Lancashire, where he was arrested, and being tried, was sent to execution at Lancaster with a former student of Rheims, the martyr Thurston Hunt. They were put to death with all the penalties of high treason on March 31, 1601. It is reported that Robert Middleton as one of those *euntes ad mortem* was received into the Society by Father Henry Garnet, S.J., during his imprisonment in London.

In the following year, 1602, two students of the Venerabile gave their lives for the Faith. The first of these was *Robert Watkinson*, alias *Wilson*, a native of York. He was admitted to the English College on October 31, 1599, and received the minor orders. He went back to Rheims on account of his bad health, for which reason his ordination was anticipated and he was made priest in 1602, going to England in the April of that year. In London, whilst he was under the care of a physician, he was betrayed by a false brother and condemned to death. The day before his apprehension, as he was walking in the street, he was met by a venerable man who saluted him in the name of Jesus, and said, " You seem to be troubled with many infirmities, but be of good cheer, for within four days all will be over." The circumstance seemed to be miraculous to those who were aware of it, considering how exactly the prediction was fulfilled. It is also related that, having

contrived to celebrate Mass on the morning of his execution, the server at the altar, who was himself a prisoner for the Faith, perceived a bright light like a ray of glory playing about him, till at the time of Communion it rested on his head, and then disappeared. He suffered the usual cruel death at Tyburn on April 30, 1602.

With him suffered another student of the College, *Thomas Tichbourne.* He was born at Hartley in Hampshire and went to Douay College in 1584, leaving it to finish his course at Rome in 1587. He was ordained priest on Ascension Day 1592, and left for England two years later. He quickly fell into the hands of the persecuting Government officials, and for some years suffered imprisonment, till with the help of a cousin and a friend he managed to escape; his two abettors being captured and put to death for this deed. Not long afterwards, betrayed by a fallen priest, Tichbourne was again captured, brought to trial, and condemned to death for being a priest. He suffered martyrdom at the same time and place as Robert Watkinson. In their company Father Francis Page, S.J., also received the martyr's palm.

It was four years after these two that another English College student was called upon to give the supreme testimony of his blood to the Faith. *Edward Oldcorne* was a native of Yorkshire, born about the year 1561. He went to Rheims for his studies in August 1581, but was sent on to the English College in Rome in February of the following year. He there received Sacred Orders in the month of August 1587, and passed through Douay on his way to England on September 26, 1588. He had been received into the Society of Jesus, before leaving Rome "with a dispensation from the regular noviceship, in place of which his labours in the dangers of the Mission were to be counted." His chief work whilst in England was in Worcestershire, where, in the winter of 1605, he was seized at Hindlip Castle with Father Henry Garnett the martyr, his superior, and with Brothers Nicholas Owen and Ralph Ashley (also martyrs). He had laboured in the neighbourhood for seventeen years with great zeal, and his many escapes from his persecutors seemed to be miraculous. On the dis-

covery of the Gunpowder Plot, Father Garnett was specially sought for by the King's officers, and was finally discovered at Hindlip in the same hiding-place as Father Oldcorne. He denied all knowledge of the conspiracy, and there was no evidence against him, until Littleton, one of the conspirators, in the hope of saving his own life, charged him with being one of the plotters; which accusation Littleton afterwards on the scaffold acknowledged to have been untrue.

In 1610 the Venerable *John Roberts* suffered death for his religion. The *Douay Diary* states that Mr. John Roberts came to Rheims in 1583, where he was confirmed and proceeded to Rome in the August of the same year. He is entered in the College Diary as being admitted to the Venerabile in that year and receiving minor orders from Bishop Goldwell. He was ordained priest in 1587, and then went to the English College at Valladolid, from which he joined the Spanish Benedictines, being professed at St. Martin's, Compostella. He returned to England to labour on the Mission, doing a great work for souls in the neighbourhood of London. He was four times arrested, and as often returned and quietly resumed his former course of life. At length he was seized for the fifth time when vested for Mass, and in his sacred vestments was hurried away to a filthy dungeon. "He was condemned solely for his priestly character, but might have saved his life if he would have taken the newly proposed oath." He suffered at Tyburn December 10, 1610.

Father Oldcorne was sent to Worcester for trial, and being condemned, suffered for the Catholic Faith, together with his companion, Brother Ashley, on Redhill, near Worcester, April 7, 1606.

Six years later, viz. in 1612, two more *alumni* of the Venerabile were martyred for their religion. The first was *Richard Smith*, or as Bp. Challoner calls him, *Richard Newport*. He was born in Northamptonshire in 1572, and made his early studies at Douay. On September 30, 1595, he was admitted to the English College and was ordained priest April 10, 1597. He came to England in 1602, and proved to be a zealous missionary. He was one

among the many priests banished for their religion in 1606 after the Gunpowder Plot, and took this opportunity to revisit Rome. According to the *Pilgrim Book*, he arrived at the Hospice on March 17, 1607, remaining until April 26, and he again returned and made the Spiritual Exercises for three days. He went "to pour forth his prayers at the tombs of the Apostles in behalf of this afflicted Church," writes Challoner, "and to obtain of God by their intercession, grace and constancy for himself to fulfil his ministry among so many difficulties and dangers as he expected to meet with on his return to England." He managed to return to his country, but was again caught and again exiled, only to return once more to the post of danger. On his arrest for the third time he was kept in prison for seven months, and when brought to trial he at once owned himself to be a priest, but denied all treason to his country, which he would in no way admit to attach to his priesthood. His condemnation followed as a matter of course, and the next day he was brought up, with Father William Scot, the Benedictine martyr, who had been previously found guilty, to hear his sentence. The next day, May 30, which was Whitsun Eve 1612, he was placed on the same hurdle as the Benedictine and dragged to Tyburn, where the sentence was carried out after the accustomed barbarous manner.

The second English College student to win the martyr's palm in 1612, was *John Almond*, known on the Mission by the *aliases* of *Molineux* and *Lathom*. He was born at Allerton, near Liverpool, and received his early education at a school in Much Woolton in the same neighbourhood. At the age of twenty he came to Rome, and entered the English College on April 14, 1597. After being ordained he left for England in November 1602. He was arrested as a priest in 1612, and was examined by Dr. King, the Protestant Bishop of London. An account of the controversy which took place between them exists in the martyr's own handwriting. He was sent to Newgate, and some months later was tried and convicted of high treason, on the charge of being a priest. On the 5th of December, 1612, he was dragged to Tyburn for execution. "He was allowed

to speak to the people and distinctly professed his perfect allegiance to King James, adding that he could not take the oath on account of the insidious clauses which it contained. After this, followed another controversy with a minister in which the holy man was able to refute the false charges brought against him and his religion. He then gave away all the money he possessed to the poor who stood around and to the executioner. He mentioned the hard usage he had met with in the dungeon called *Little Ease*, but freely forgave all.

" The chief persecutor of this servant of God is said to have been Dr. King the Bishop, whose life from that time was one of sorrow, though before his death he sought and obtained reconciliation with the Church : an extraordinary grace, which we may well believe was obtained by the prayers of the martyr."

In 1616 *John Thulis*, or *Thules*, an old student of the Venerabile, suffered martyrdom. He was born at Up-Holland in Lancashire, and came to Rheims in May 1583, received the tonsure the same year, and left for Rome on March 27, 1590, being admitted to the English College on May 8 following. He was ordained in Rome, and on April 22, 1591, departed for the English Mission. He was soon arrested, and for many years was confined at Wisbeach Castle. Having got out of prison, how or when is not recorded, he laboured for souls in his own county. Once during that time he was seized with a dangerous sickness and received the last Sacraments, when he had a revelation, which assured him that he was reserved for a more glorious death.

By order of the Earl of Derby he was again arrested and sent to Lancaster Gaol. Whilst there he managed to escape with his fellow-martyr, Roger Wrenno; " but when morning dawned and they supposed that they were many miles from the town, they discovered that they were almost close to the Castle. This satisfied them that it was God's will that they should suffer.

At the trial Thulis was arraigned for his priestly character and functions, and condemned to the penalties of high treason, and his execution was accordingly carried

out on March 18, 1616. "Offers were repeatedly made to spare his life, if he would take King James' oath, which his conscience would not allow him to do. Several criminals were executed at the same time, four of whom he had the consolation of reconciling to God and the Church."

After this, it was not till 1642 that the next College student received the crown of his life service for God. This was *John Lockwood*, or *Lascelles*. He was the son of Christopher Lockwood of Soulsby in Yorkshire, and according to the English College Diary was born in 1565. He inherited a considerable estate, but determined to devote himself to the service of God as a missionary priest. He was admitted to the English College in Rome in 1595, and was ordained priest January 26, 1597, leaving for England in 1598. After his return to his native country he was twice imprisoned for the Faith, and in 1610 was banished. He returned almost immediately to his labours, but was again caught, and this time was condemned to death, though reprieved and subsequently released. When he had reached a very advanced age he was again taken by the pursuivants at the house of a Mrs. Catenby at Woodend in Yorkshire, and carried to York. So great was the cruelty with which the old man was treated on the journey as to call for the compassionate protest of those who witnessed it, and who continued to speak about it long afterwards. His priesthood being proved against him, the sentence of death followed as a matter of course, and he was sentenced to suffer with Mr. Catherick, a fellow-priest. King Charles I had granted them a reprieve, but soon withdrew it to satisfy the clamours of Parliament, and signed the warrant for their execution, which took place on April 13, 1642, whilst the King was staying with the Prince of Wales at the Manor in York.

The sheriff had ordered Mr. Catherick to mount the ladder first, but his venerable companion, Father Lockwood, thinking that "he perceived in his countenance signs of the natural fear of death, stepped forward and insisted on it, as the privilege of his years, that the first turn should be given to himself, and having spoken words of tender encouragement to his fellow-martyr and pronounced a

touching prayer in their common names, offered himself as the first victim. . . . The sentence was carried out with more than usual barbarity and the venerable heads of the martyrs were fixed on different gates of the city. That of Lockwood was so placed, that the King must have seen it every time he left the palace, as it was upon the north gate called Bootham Bar close by."

This same year, 1642, suffered at Tyburn for his religion Fr. *Edward Morgan*, or *Singleton*. He was born at Beltisfield in the parish of Hanmer, Flintshire, and was a convert of Father John Bennet, the Apostle of Wales. At the age of sixteen he was taken into the family of Walter Fowler, a convert, and brought up with his two sons, one of whom subsequently became a student of the College. They frequented a school in Stafford, after which he was sent by his benefactor to St. Omer's College, coming in 1606 to Rome. He afterwards entered the novitiate of the Society, but had to leave on account of his health. He then went to Valladolid and was ordained priest at Salamanca, and went to the English Mission. After devoting some time to his missionary duties, he was apprehended, and passed the last " fourteen or fifteen years of his life in the Fleet prison, where he suffered from want and the loathsomeness of the place. He was at length brought to trial and condemned solely because he was a priest. After the sentence he was visited by many Catholics and non-Catholics, all of whom were greatly edified by his tranquillity and holy joy. . . .

" The holy man found means to celebrate Mass the day before his execution; and falling into a sort of ecstasy was favoured with such sweetness and consolation that it was with difficulty he could proceed with the sacred rite. This he imparted to a Jesuit who came to visit him in the course of the day; and when the same father asked him whether anything could be done for his comfort, he said that he had been constrained to contract a debt of £22, which it would greatly relieve him to have paid. This charitable man accordingly so exerted himself that he was able to collect the whole sum by the next day. On that day (April 26, 1642) the road from the prison to Tyburn was

crowded with spectators, and it was with difficulty that the gallows could be approached, and all treated him with singular respect. He was permitted to speak to the people, which he did at some length, though often interrupted by the minister, and took occasion to argue in favour of the true Church. He gave up his soul to God with great devotion and joy." [1]

The Venerable *Briant Cansfield*, another College student, died in 1643, from the ill-treatment he received on account of his priestly character. He came to the Venerabile at the age of nineteen, in 1601, and was born at Robert Hall, Lancashire. In 1604 he entered the Society of Jesus, and returning to England as a Jesuit missionary, spent many years in Apostolic labours in the Yorkshire District. He was seized by the officers of the Crown whilst saying Mass, cruelly beaten and cast into the prison of York Castle. He died August 3, 1643, shortly after his discharge, from the effects of his ill-treatment.

In 1645 Father *Henry Morse*, alias *Claxton*, gave the supreme testimony of his blood to the Faith. He was born in Norfolk of Protestant parents, but becoming convinced of the claims of the Catholic Church whilst a young student of law at the Inns of Court, he crossed over to Douay, where he was received into the Church, and thence went to Rome, and was admitted to the English College December 27, 1618. He was ordained at the College, and having "finished his studies with great proficiency," left for the English Mission in June 1624. Almost immediately upon his landing in his native land, he was seized at Newcastle, and during his imprisonment, which lasted for three years, was received into the Society of Jesus. He was finally banished, but returned to England as soon as possible. During the plague of 1636–7 he took charge of no fewer than 400 infected families, and was the means of reconciling many to the Church. After this he was again banished but once more returned, was caught, and died a martyr's death at Tyburn, February 1, 1645.

John Farrington, or *Woodcock*, who was only at the English College for a short time in 1629, suffered martyrdom

[1] *Menology*, p. 183.

in Lancashire in 1646. He was born at Leyland, and brought up at Clayton in Lancashire, his father being a Protestant and his mother a Catholic. He studied for a year at St. Omer's when he was about twenty years of age, and was admitted to the English College on October 20, 1629, but six months later he returned to France and entered the Franciscan Order. He received the habit from Father Paul Heath in 1631, and made his profession in the hands of Father Francis Bell, both of whom were subsequently martyrs. For a time he remained at Douay, but on hearing of the martyrdom of Father Paul Heath in 1643, Woodcock was fired with the wish to proceed to England himself. This was allowed him, and he landed at Newcastle with the intention of making his way to Lancashire; but the very first night he was seized as a priest and committed by a magistrate to Lancaster Castle. He had to wait for two years for his trial, and suffered greatly from the austerities of his prison. He was condemned on his own confession of his priestly character, together with two priests his companions, the Rev. Edward Bamber, *alias* Reading, and Thomas Whittaker, and he was executed on the following day, August 7, 1646. The circumstances attending his execution were singularly cruel and indicative of the time. Being flung off the ladder, the rope broke, and he fell to the ground perfectly sensible: he was ordered to be drawn up again, and the second time was cut down and butchered alive.

Father *John Wall* was the son of a Lancashire gentleman, who sent him when young to be educated at Douay College. He came to the English College in Rome in 1641, and was ordained priest December 3, 1645. He became a Franciscan in 1651, and arrived in England in 1654, where for twelve years he laboured on the missions in Worcestershire. He was seized during the Oates Plot at the house of Mr. Finch, near Bromsgrove. Refusing to take the condemned oath of supremacy, he was committed to Worcester Gaol in December 1678. His trial took place at the Summer Assizes, and being condemned for his priesthood was hanged at Redhill, near Worcester, on August 22, 1679.

In the previous year, 1678, *Edmund Mico*, alias *Baines*,

died in prison for the Faith. He was admitted to the College as a convictor in 1647. In 1648 he took the oath and received minor orders, but left the Venerabile on March 28, 1650, for Watten, to be admitted into the Society of Jesus. After labouring on the English Mission with great fruit, he was marked out as a special victim in the *Oates Plot*. He was arrested, whilst ill in bed, by Oates in person accompanied by a band of soldiers, at the house of the Spanish Ambassador, to whom he acted as Chaplain. He received severe injuries, inflicted by blows of the soldiers' muskets, and when he was able to be removed he was thrust into prison at Newgate. Here he died from his sufferings about December 3, 1678, being found dead upon his knees, oppressed by the weight of his irons.

David Lewis, generally known as *Charles Baker*, was the son of Mr. Morgan Lewis, Master of the Royal Grammar School, Abergavenny. His mother was a Catholic, and David was reconciled to the Church at the age of nineteen. Two years later he entered the English College in Rome and received the minor orders on July 20, 1642, he was ordained priest and joined the Jesuits in 1645. He was sent on the English Mission the following year, but was soon recalled to Rome to fill the post of Spiritual Father in his old College. He returned to his missionary work in 1648, and for twenty-eight years he " zealously toiled in those rough missions " of the South Wales District, " visiting the persecuted Catholics by night and always making his circuits on foot. His paternal affection to the poor was so great, that he was commonly styled the ' Father of the Poor.' " On November 17, 1678, he was captured whilst preparing to offer up the Holy Mass, committed to Usk Gaol, brought to trial for his priesthood at the Monmouth Spring Assizes, and executed at Usk August 27, 1679.

CHAPTER VII

CONFESSORESQUE LUCIDI

In addition to those who gave the supreme testimony, by laying down their lives for their religion, the English College during the first years of its existence furnished a goodly number of Confessors of the Faith to the Church. The students went forth from the Venerabile with all the courage of heroes, in the expectation, if not of receiving the martyr's crown, at least of suffering persecution and hardships in the exercise of their ministry to the persecuted Catholics of England. Many of them had, even before coming to the College, experienced the rigours of imprisonment and even of torture inflicted upon their youthful bodies for the sole reason of their being determined to practise the religion of their forefathers. Several, too, had been captured by heretics even when they had escaped from England and were on their way to Rome to study for the priesthood, and they had been cast into prison and had been made to undergo privations of every kind for their religion, before they had escaped from the hands of their persecutors. Thus they came to the Venerabile already Confessors for conscience' sake, and they brought with them the spirit of men, who had already proved their will if necessary to die for their religion. We have the testimony of those who ruled them in those early days, that, as a body, the *alumni* of the venerable English College were animated solely by a desire to prepare themselves for the perilous mission before them. Many of them, as we have seen, sacrificed their lives in this cause. Many more found themselves in prison, and were made to suffer torments and even tortures for it. Some were seized almost on their landing in their native country; others after having been hunted by priest-catchers from place to place, and denounced by spies and false

brethren. Thus they lived ever in peril of capture, which they avoided more from their desire to serve the poor Catholic people of England, who were in dire need of the consolations of religion, than from any wish to escape from the hands of those who sought their lives.

An examination of the *Diary* of the English College reveals the fact that the number of these Confessors of the Faith was hardly less than a hundred. Probably it was considerably more, since our records of the lives of the priests, who went from the College to England, chiefly relate to those who, either in Rome after they had finished their course or subsequently, entered the Society of Jesus. The Jesuit Superiors of the College had naturally the opportunity of gathering information concerning their own men, which they did not possess in the case of those who remained seculars. With regard to the latter, therefore, their heroism in the face of persecution is known only to God; but it is only reasonable to suppose that the same spirit which animated the Jesuit Fathers, would likewise animate the secular missionaries, since they had both imbibed it in their student days at the English College.

Though it would occupy too much space in a history of the College to detail all the instances of the sufferings short of death endured by old *alumni* of the Venerabile, some examples may be given in these pages.

It was in 1580 that, as we have already seen, the first band, consisting of twenty-eight missioners, was dispatched to England. Of these six became martyrs. Of the rest *Richard Haydock*, brother of George Haydock subsequently martyred, suffered imprisonment for the Faith, but did not receive the crown. Subsequently he died in Rome in 1605 and was buried in the old College church.

His will is still preserved in the College Archives (*Chron.*, vol. vi. p. 341). It is written on two foolscap sheets. He "commends his soul to the Most Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael the Archangel, his patron, and to all the Court of Heaven. He directs that his body be buried at the entrance to the altar of our Lady in the Church of the English College, to which after certain legacies he bequeaths the residue of his property. He wishes that a

marble slab be placed upon his grave, with his name and degree carved upon it."

Another of his companions, *Martin Array*, escaped at first, but in 1586 was captured and cast into prison. He was set at liberty by means of a money payment, escaping the supreme penalty, and, as it is said, "had favour to be banished," though he remained and worked as a priest in the north of England.

A third of the first band of missioners was *Jonah Meredith*. He had been ordained at Douay, and went to England in 1576, where he was captured and sent to prison as a priest. He was, however, released and escaped abroad to Douay, whence he went to Rome as a theological student on the first foundation of the College. He returned to the English Mission in 1580, and managed to escape capture till 1585, when he was seized by the priest-hunters, imprisoned and banished. He returned for the third time, and was again caught, and was in the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster, in 1587.

The fourth member of the body of missioners leaving Rome in 1580 was *Leonard Hyde*. He had come as a priest, like Jonas Meredith, to Rome in 1579, and had left it in 1580. He escaped capture at first, and we find, according to the *Pilgrim Book*, that he accompanied Sir Geoffrey Pole and his son, with their attendant, Peter Hyde, a brother of the priest, on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1582. Returning to England in 1583, he was captured as a priest and was still imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1585. In 1586–7 he is entered as "a bad fellow" in the list of prisoners in Newgate. He was removed to Wisbeach dungeons, and was there in 1591. In 1603 he was removed to Framlingham Gaol, and banished the kingdom on the accession of James I.

William Harrison, the third and last Archpriest, was one of the band of forty-six priests who were sent to England, of whom the names of thirteen are to be seen on the list of martyrs. He is said in the College *Diary* to have been imprisoned for his religion, but the details are wanting.

Another of the glorious band of missioners which set out in 1581 was *Edward Rishton*, a native of Lancashire,

who was tried and condemned to death with Father Edmund Campion. He was reprieved and suffered imprisonment in the Tower of London till his banishment from England in 1585. He wrote the valuable "Diary of Events in the Tower," and also contributed a supplement to Sander's *History of the English Schism.* He died an exile for the Faith on June 29 of the same year, 1585.

Arthur Pitt was also sent to the English Mission in 1581, and very shortly after his arrival was seized and confined for his religion in the Tower, where he and George Haydock, the martyr, are described as "little men of great courage." He was banished with many other priests from this prison in 1585, and in 1596 is said to have been in Lorraine.

William Thedder came to the College in Rome from Douay at the age of twenty-two, and after his ordination left for the English Mission on November 13, 1582. Dr. Barret, writing from Rheims, March 13, 1583, to Father Agazzari, the Rector of the English College, speaks of him as being then in prison for the Faith. He was probably the William Cedder whom Challoner names in the list of priests exiled from their dungeons in January 1585.

William Bishop went to England in 1582, and after suffering a painful imprisonment for his priesthood was banished in 1585, but returned at once to his missionary labours. According to Dodd, he was a son of John Bishop of Brayles, Warwickshire. Though a Catholic, he was sent to Oxford in 1570. Subsequently he came to the English College in Rome, where he was ordained. He then proceeded to the Mission. At some time, possibly during his banishment, he took his degree of D.D. at Paris, and on June 4, 1623, was consecrated Bishop of Chalcedon for England, and arrived in that country on July 31. He was constrained to live in London very quietly, because of the Government persecution of Catholics, and died at Bishop's Court, near London, on April 16, the year after his arrival.

Christopher Thulis, or *Thules*, came to the English College at the age of nineteen, and was sent to the Mission in 1585. He was soon captured by the persecutors, and was in the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster, in the following year. He was probably an elder brother of another English

College student, John Thulis, who suffered martyrdom at Lancaster in 1616.

John Bolton, a fellow-student in Rome of the last-named Confessor for the Faith, went with him to England in 1585. He was seized and incarcerated in Wisbeach Castle, and in a subsequent list of priests in London prisons "mete for banishment," John Bolton's name appears as being in the Marshalsea with seventeen other priests.

Ralph Bickley entered the College in 1579 at the age of twenty-two. He was a native of Hampshire. He went on the English Mission in April 1589. He spent most of his life in various prisons, and, probably about the end of 1597, was received into the Society of Jesus. In 1618, at the intercession of the Spanish Ambassador he was released from confinement and taken by him as an exile with several other Jesuit Fathers to the Continent, where he shortly afterwards died, probably by reason of his long imprisonment endured for the Faith.

Thomas Lister was a student in the College for six years, and, after his ordination, with the licence of the Cardinal Protector he joined the Jesuits in 1583. He was a fellow-novice of Father Vitelleschi, afterwards General of the Society. He was a brilliant student, and in August 1581 publicly defended theses in philosophy, and in 1592 won his doctor's cap at Pont-à-Mousson. He laboured in England in the company of Father Edward Oldcorne the martyr, in the Worcester District. He was arrested, imprisoned and subsequently banished from England with forty-five other priests in 1606.

William Smith, who came from Yorkshire, entered the Venerabile in 1579. After his ordination he was sent on the English Mission, in September 1581, together with forty-six other priests, thirteen of whom gave their lives for the Faith. He was captured and was sent from prison into banishment in 1585 with many other priests, but ventured to return again in 1590 at the risk of his life.

John Tippets, a youth, was already a Confessor for the Faith when he entered the English College in 1580. He was a native of Cornwall, and was seized for his known adherence to the old religion in London in 1579. He was

brought before the Protestant Bishop of London, who was unable to shake his constancy. Whereupon, as is noted in a letter in the *Douay Diary*, "the Bishop and Recorder, being outrageously moved against him, contrary to all law and justice, condemned him to be whipped at the cart's tail and to be bored through the ear with a hot iron." The sentence was executed and borne with exemplary patience. He was imprisoned in Newgate until May the 18th, when he regained his liberty, and passing through Douay, reached Rome early in 1580. After his ordination at the College in 1584, he entered the Carthusian Order and died in religion.

Christopher Southworth entered the College at the same time as the last-named (1580), and was ordained priest by Bishop Goldwell in 1583. He was the son of a noble Confessor for the Faith, Sir John Southworth, and the brother of the martyr John Southworth, who suffered at Tyburn June 28, 1654. He was sent on the English Mission in 1586, and was apprehended as a priest almost immediately after reaching the country. He appears in the Counter Prison in 1587, and was thence transferred to the dungeons of Wisbeach Castle. In 1598 he was removed to the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster.

Oswald Tesimond entered the Venerabile as a youth of seventeen years in 1580, and after his ordination, by leave of the Cardinal Protector Morone he entered the Society of Jesus in 1584. He landed in England in March 1598, and for eight years assisted Fr. Oldcorne, the martyr, in his missionary labours. He was falsely accused of complicity in Cecil's Gunpowder Plot, but escaped capture in a victualling boat to Calais. He died at Naples in 1635.

Philip Woodward, born in the diocese of Norwich, was admitted to the English College in 1581 with several other students, two of whom subsequently were crowned with martyrdom. He was ordained in the College chapel by Bishop Goldwell in 1583, but, being a student in theology and languages, did not proceed to the English Mission till 1595. In 1606 he was sent into banishment with forty-six other priests taken out of various dungeons in the country. He retired to Douay, and became Professor of Hebrew and Controversy. He is probably the priest mentioned in

Father Gerard's autobiography where he says: "I gave the spiritual exercises to some others in that house before I gave it up, among whom was a pious and good priest named Woodward, who also found a vocation to the Society, and afterwards passed into Belgium with the intention of entering it; but as there was a great want of English priests in the army at the time, he was appointed to that work, and died in it, greatly loved and reverenced by all." He was the author of several anonymous pieces of controversy, and his death is said to have occurred at Lyons in 1610.

John Green came to the College in 1581, but after a year his health broke down and he was transferred to Rheims, where he was ordained in 1585 and was sent to England at once. He was soon arrested, and was in the Counter Prison in 1586, whence he was removed to the dungeons of Wisbeach Castle. A spy describes him at Wisbeach as "a Seminary priest, a very obstinate perverse man and a traitorous seducer of Her Majesty's subjects, and a great defender of the Pope's Supremacy." He was probably sent from Wisbeach to Framlingham Prison.

Thomas Stanney was ordained at the College in 1585, and left for the English Mission in June 1586. In 1597 he entered the Society of Jesus, and, two years later, was again sent to England. In 1603, whilst acting as chaplain to the Countess of Arundel, he was seized and imprisoned in the Gatehouse, Westminster. In 1606, with forty-six other priests, he was banished. The martyr, Swithun Wells, Esq., who was savagely murdered opposite his own door in Holborn, near Gray's Inn, London, on December 10, 1591, was his friend and penitent. Father Stanney died at St. Omer's College, May 28, 1617. "A man adorned with every virtue."

William Wright was a youth of eighteen years when he came to Rome in 1581. He never took the mission oath, and very shortly after his admission became a Jesuit. He became a Doctor of Divinity, and for many years taught Philosophy and Theology at Vienna and Gratz. After twenty years he went to labour in England, and in 1606 was captured at Hengrave Hall by the persecutors. He was cast into the White Lion Prison, in London, from which

he subsequently escaped, and laboured for many years on the mission of Leicester, dying January 18, 1639.

William Chaddock was admitted to the Venerabile in 1582, and having been ordained in 1586, was sent to England. He was forthwith taken and confined in Wisbeach Castle. On the accession of James I in 1603, he was removed to Framlingham Prison and thence sent into banishment.

Oliver Almond, who came to the College with the last-named and received Holy Orders in 1587, proceeded later to England by way of Spain. He was hunted for by the Government officials, and had to have recourse to many expedients to evade capture. In a report by Robert Weston, a Government spy, it is said: "Item, Olivar Almon is a prest, and did leye at Mr. Wynchcombe in Barkshire, nere Newbery, the name is Henwicke. Yf he be not in the hoose, there is a grat (tree) wherein he is hyden; hee is a lette man." In another part of the report we read: "As you go forth of Mr. Wynchcombe's house towards Newberry, in the first close withoute the gate, upon the lefte hand in the heg-row, there is a grat oake that is hollow, and be knocking upon it you shall fynd it to sounde. . . ."

Edmund Calverly was ordained at the College in 1585, and left for England the same year. He is named in the *Douay Diary* as a youth of high family, who accompanied Mr. Vavasour from England to Douay September 29, 1581. In 1586–7 he was among the prisoners in Wisbeach Castle.

William Bawden (or *Baldwin*) came to the College in 1583, and, after his ordination in 1588, he entered the Society of Jesus. Before coming to Rome, he had studied for five years at Oxford, and subsequently at Rheims, where his master was the future martyr, Father Cornelius. He was an heroic sufferer for his religion, was cruelly tortured, and spent many years in the Tower of London. He died at St. Omer's on September 28, 1632.

Richard Dudley, a native of Westmoreland, came to the English College at the same time as the last-named, and, being ordained with him, left for the English Mission in 1589. He is mentioned in the Jesuit Records as being

among the number of priests betrayed and arrested by the apostate Atkinson. "Having many solicitors in his behalf he was soon and secretly released."

Robert Gray, of the diocese of Durham, came to the College at the age of twenty-two in October 1584, and received Sacred Orders in November 1586, being sent into England the following year. He is named in a schedule of Recusants who are at large, signed by Grindall, Bishop of London, and other "Commissioners," and in another list he is noted as "Robert Gray, priest, much supported at Sir Thomas Fitzherbert's and now wandering (about Staffordshire and Lancashire very seditiously). A man meet to be looked to." In 1593 he is reported as being in custody and under examination.

Arthur Stafford, who came to the College in 1585, and was ordained in November 1586, went to England in September 1588. In 1637 he was confined in the Gatehouse, Westminster, having been tracked by the Government spies and pursuivants employed for the purpose of "the arrest, condemnation and execution of priests and Jesuits."

Robert Tempest, of the diocese of Durham, came to Rome in 1585, but left, before his ordination in October 1589, for Rheims, where he was ordained in 1591. He was in Paris in 1590, where apparently he took his degree as Doctor of Divinity. In 1600 he went to the English Mission and was seized as a priest in 1612. After passing two years in prison he was released on bail and allowed to live with his brother-in-law in Hampshire on parole. In 1624 he became a Jesuit, and died in Hampshire July 13, 1640.

Richard Banks, after finishing his studies at the English College, was ordained priest in 1592, and proceeded to England in 1594. Dr. Oliver states that "he was one of the tumultuous faction in the English College, Rome, but that upon going to the English Mission, he was so captivated with the charity, meekness and patience of the good Fathers of the Society, that to repair his fault he humbly sought admission among them." He became the companion of Fr. Oldcorne, the martyr, and was Rector of the house at Clerkenwell at the time of its seizure by

the pursuivants by order of the Privy Council in 1628, when with other Jesuit Fathers and Brothers he was made a prisoner. After a long imprisonment endured for the Faith, his constitution was so undermined that he was sent to Belgium, and died at Ghent March 14, 1643.

Edward Cole came to Rome from Rheims as a subdeacon, was ordained at the College, and left for England in 1590. In a list of priests and Jesuits captured by the pursuivants from 1640 to 1651, his name appears among those " indicted, proved and sent beyond the sea."

George Smith was ordained priest at the College on December 3, 1589. The *Douay Diary* states that in 1584 he arrived at Rheims, that he was a skilful musician, and was sent on to Rome in 1587. In 1603–8 in an inquisition before the Lord Chief Baron and Justice Fenner, as to recusants in the County of Devon, " one Smith, a seminary priest, was convicted of treason and one Richard Eveleighe convicted of felony, for maintaining and relieving him, and they both are reprieved, and so remain in prison."

Edward Coffin, alias *Hatton*, was a native of Exeter, born in 1570. He came to the College in 1588, and was sent into England May 10, 1594. In 1598 he petitioned to join the Society of Jesus, and was on his way to pass his novitiate in Belgium when he was seized by the Dutch at Lillo near Antwerp, and sent back to England. He was imprisoned and passed his novitiate and the first five years of his religious life in prison, first in Newgate and then at Framlingham Castle, when he was banished the country in 1603. He subsequently spent twenty years in Rome as Confessor of the English College. At the end of this time he begged to be sent back again to the English Mission, but died on his way, at St. Omer's, April 17, 1626.

Henry Pugh was already a Confessor of the Faith when he came to the College in 1589 at the age of twenty-six. Dodd, quoting Bridgewater's *Concertatio* and the *Douay Diaries*, writes of him: " Henry Pugh, a gentleman of Flintshire, who being committed prisoner to the county gaol for recusancy, suffered very much both before and after the year 1584. He was several times put to the rack, till he became speechless and almost senseless, and as he

came to himself the trial was renewed. Several ensnaring questions were proposed to him. Who reconciled him? What priest he was acquainted with? What houses he frequented? etc. But no satisfactory answer could be obtained from him, being encouraged by the example of Mr. Bennett, a zealous priest, prisoner in the same gaol. Mr. Pugh, being brought to trial, was acquitted." After his acquittal he probably escaped at once to Rheims. Henry Pugh died at the College August 10, 1592, having been allowed to take the simple vows of the Society by the Father-General a few years before.

John Percy was ordained priest at the College on March 10, 1593, and went a year later to Flanders to become a Jesuit. Whilst a student he showed conspicuous abilities, and defended publicly all the theses of Theology. He was reputed a very learned man, and became a celebrated controversialist. He held a famous dispute on religion with Dr. Fealty and others before King James I, and received into the Church the Countess of Buckingham, her son Viscount Purbeck, and many other members of distinguished families during his Apostolic missionary labours. He also convinced the unhappy Chillingworth of the truth of the Catholic religion, and was the means of his becoming a Catholic. During the course of his ministry he endured long imprisonments for his Faith, and died in London December 3, 1641.

John Yate was admitted to the English College in 1590, and after a year went to Rheims for his ordination. He left for England in the same year, 1591, and is believed to be the same priest who is named in the Fasti of the Society for the year 1624. " John Yate, a priest, a septuagenarian,[1] was admitted into the Society in *articulo mortis*, having exhibited to all, both as a freeman and as a prisoner for the Faith, an example of modesty and piety."

Edward Tempest entered the Venerabile at the same time as the last-named, and was ordained March 19, 1594, but did not go to England until 1597. Two years later he was already a prisoner in the Clink, London, as appears

[1] He is stated to have been forty-one when he entered the College in 1590, and so would have been seventy-five in 1624.

from a list of prisoners in that year, and from a letter written to the Archpriest Blackwell from that prison on January 15, 1590. He had been captured ten days before by the apostate Sacheverall.

Francis Montford at the age of twenty-four was admitted to the College in 1590, and having received Sacred Orders, was sent to the English Mission in 1592. Dodd in his *Church History* states that "Francis Monford, a missionary priest, educated in the English College, Rome, was tried, condemned to death and suffered at London, 1592." Dr. Worthington's *Catalogue of Martyrs* is his authority, but his name does not appear in Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs*.

Sylvester Norris was a native of Somerset, and came to Rome in 1590. After completing his theological studies and taking his degree of D.D., he left for England in 1596. He was arrested in the Cecil Gunpowder Plot, and was committed to Bridewell, but was subsequently released and sent into banishment with forty-six other priests in 1606. He proceeded to Rome, and was there received into the Society of Jesus, returning subsequently to the English Mission. He was one of the disaffected scholars in 1596, and was probably transferred to Douay in consequence of Cardinal Sega's Report. He served the English Mission with great zeal, was much esteemed as a preacher, and wrote several controversial works. He died March 16, 1630.

John Floyd was a fellow-student of the last-named, and took the oath with Henry Clithero, son of the glorious martyr Margaret Clithero, in 1590. Two years later, with leave of the Cardinal Protector he joined the Jesuits, and was certainly at work in England before 1605; for in that year, going by stealth to visit the martyr Father Oldcorne in the condemned cell in Worcester Gaol, he was discovered and detained in prison for a year, after which he was banished with forty-six other priests in 1606. He finally became Professor of Theology at Louvain, and died suddenly at St. Omer's September 16, 1649.

Humphrey Sicklemore was admitted to the College in 1591. In 1603 he was in England and in prison as a priest at Framlingham Castle. John Healey, a servant of Launcelot Carnaby, Esq., in his evidence against him, states "that

he had been present at many Masses with the said Launcelot Carnaby, his master, at his house at Halton, Northumberland, since Michaelmas last; which Masses were said sometimes by Sicklemore, the priest, sometimes by one Southern, a priest, and one by Father Holtby, a Jesuit, and divers times both heard Mass at the house of Robert Errington, of Limell, Northumberland, where Sicklemore was ordinarily entertained." Father Sicklemore is included in the list of priests sent into banishment on the accession of James I.

Francis Robinson was the son of John Robinson of Fernsby, Yorkshire, who, on becoming a widower, entered the ecclesiastical state, and, being ordained priest at Rheims, was sent to England. He was seized at the port at which he landed, and being tried and condemned for his priesthood, suffered at Ipswich October 1, 1588. His son Francis came to the College in 1592, and after his ordination was sent to England in 1597. He was soon discovered and arrested, and seems to have remained in prison till his banishment in 1603. He went to Douay, but quickly returned to his work for souls in England. He is recorded as "a seminary priest in the Durham district in 1632."

Hugh Witoff was admitted to the College in 1593. He is named as one of the disaffected students and was in consequence sent to Douay, where he was ordained in 1599. In the list of forty-seven priests banished from various prisons in 1606, the name of Hugh Whitall appears, and Br. Foley says this "is no doubt the same person."

Thomas Cornforth, who is described in the *Diary* as having "always behaved admirably in the College," was ordained priest in 1597, and was sent to England two years later. He entered the Society of Jesus whilst on the Mission in 1600. Becoming chaplain to the Vaux family, he was captured at the altar whilst saying Mass and imprisoned. He died at Liége May 14, 1640.

Thomas Hill arrived in Rome in February 1593 from Rheims. He was ordained in 1594 and sent to the English Mission in 1597. He is named in the *Records S.J.* as having been "seized in a search in London by Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the clerks of the Council, aided by the apostate Atkinson" (1602). He is considered by Br. Foley as

being the same person mentioned by Dodd as "an eminent minister of the Church of England, and D.D., who, becoming a Catholic towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, made his motives public in a written book, *A Quarternion of Reasons*, 1604. Several pens were taken up against his work, among others by George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury." Bishop Challoner states in his *Memoirs* that he was a D.D. and a Benedictine monk, and that he was condemned to death in 1612 for being a priest. He was, however, reprieved and died at Douay in 1644.

William Naylor came to Rome from Rheims in 1594. Dodd, writing from a MS. in his hands, says, "that William Naylor was a gentleman of considerable fortune, who being much reduced by the severity of the penal laws, and, his wife being dead and his children settled, went abroad, was ordained priest in due time, and returned to England. He was arrested when exercising the functions of his office, committed prisoner to Newbury, and afterwards indicted at Reading Assizes for endeavouring to convert a lady to the Catholic Faith, and likewise for refusing to take the condemned oath of allegiance and supremacy. Upon the first charge he was acquitted, but kept in custody on the second. Being sent up to London, he was detained in confinement for two years, when, making his escape, he went to Flanders and was alive in 1630 at Ghent."

Thomas Flint came to Rome in 1596, and was obliged to remain for three months as a pilgrim before being admitted to the College, on account of the absence of the Cardinal Protector. He was ordained priest in 1600. He was sent from Rome to teach theology in 1602, but, being in bad health, he was allowed to proceed to England in 1603. He is named among the forty-six priests banished in 1606. He became a Jesuit in 1621, and was again arrested for his Faith after that date. According to the *Annual Letters*, "he had suffered a long and rigorous incarceration, and from the cold and the very narrow limits of his cell, he suffered severely in his limbs and partially lost the use of the lower extremities." He died in the Suffolk District December 28, 1638.

John Worthington came to Rome from the seminary of Seville with Father Parsons in 1597. He took the College oath, but joined the Jesuits in 1598. He was the son of Richard Worthington, Esq., who died a Confessor for the Faith in 1590, and was the nephew of Dr. Worthington, the President of Douay College, a relative of Cardinal Allen. He suffered much for the Catholic religion, and died a prisoner on parole January 25, 1648.

Thomas Rand was twenty years of age when he came to the English College in 1597. On finishing his Philosophical course he joined the Jesuits. He subsequently was sent to England, and about 1607, having been seized as a priest, he was examined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and committed to Newgate. He died August 4, 1657.

Francis Holland was admitted to the College in 1598, and received the sacred priesthood in 1603. "He was always modest," says the *Diary*, "but rather too good friends with the disobedient." He went to the English Mission in 1605, and afterwards joined the Society in 1609. In 1648 he was captured, tried, and condemned to death for his priesthood, but the sentence was commuted to banishment for life. He died at Liége February 29, 1656.

Francis Young was a convert of Father Edward Oldcorne, the martyr, who after an education at Eton and Oxford, came to the English College in Rome in 1598. He received all the Sacred Orders the following year, and joined the Society soon after in 1600. He suffered many imprisonments for the Faith. Amongst others he was in the Gatehouse, Westminster, where his fellow-prisoner was Father Laurence Worthington. They were banished together in 1618. Francis Young ventured to return, and continued to labour for the salvation of souls until his death, March 30, 1633.

Nicholas Hart, a former student at Westminster and Oxford, entered the English College, Rome, in 1598. He was ordained priest in 1603, leaving for the Mission the following year, when he became a Jesuit. He was seized and accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot and was sent into banishment. He returned to England and was

apparently captured a second time, and again banished in 1612. He died in England July 27, 1650.

Henry Chaderdon was born at Southsea Castle, which belonged to his father. He became a convert to the Faith through the influence of Brother Thomas Pounde, who was afterwards his constant guide and spiritual director. He asked to be admitted into the Society of Jesus as a lay-brother, but, by the advice of Father Parsons, then Rector of the English College, Rome, he came to Rome and entered the Venerabile in 1599, when he was forty-seven years of age. He received the priesthood in 1601, and was sent to England the following year. He was captured shortly after his arrival, and his name appears in the list of forty-six priests and Jesuits, banished from the various English prisons in 1606.

John Falkner, coming to the College in May 1600, was ordained priest in December 1603. The following year he entered the Society of Jesus, and went to the English Mission in 1607. He appears among the twelve Jesuits who were sent into banishment in 1618, but he returned and is noted among the priests and Jesuits in or about London in 1624. Father Falkner was chaplain at Wardour Castle during its siege and gallant defence by Blanche Lady Arundell in 1643, and drew up the terms for its honourable capitulation.

Thomas More was admitted to the College in 1601 at the age of fifteen, and was ordained priest in 1609. At the beginning of May 1610 he left for England, and there entered the Society. He was a great-grandson of Blessed Sir Thomas More. In England he was seized, imprisoned and condemned to be banished for life, and was probably among the sixty priests banished in 1618. He died at Ghent January 2, 1623.

Briant Cansfield, alias *Christopher Benson*, came to Rome with the last-named, Thomas More, and with him received the minor orders. In 1604, before becoming a priest, he joined the Jesuits. On going to the English Mission, he spent many years in the Yorkshire District, where he was seized when at the altar saying Mass. He was cruelly beaten and cast into the dungeons of York Castle. He

died shortly after his discharge from the effects of the ill-treatment he had there received, on August 3, 1643.

John Starkey came to Rome in 1601, and was admitted to the College at the age of thirty-one, and was ordained priest in July 1602. He was sent to the English Mission in 1603, and was evidently seized and imprisoned for the Faith before 1606, as he was one of the forty-six priests who were banished in that year.

Edward Williamson took the College oath on June 15, 1603, and was ordained in June 1605. He left for England in September 1608, and in 1617 entered the Society of Jesus. He was one of the Jesuit Fathers seized at Clerkenwell by the Privy Council pursuivants in 1628. He died at St. Omer's, after working for twenty-one years in England, on March 19, 1649. In his replies to the usual questions put to scholars on entering the College, Father Williamson said that he had gone to school at Woolton until advised by Father Gerard to go to Douay. Being arrested and imprisoned on his way there, he returned home for a time, but again started for Douay, where he was received by Dr. Worthington, the President, who afterwards sent him to Rome.

John Felton, really *Grosse*, entered the College in 1603, and received the priesthood in 1606. He was a convert to the Faith through his visits to the Catholic priests incarcerated in Wisbeach Castle. He became a Jesuit in 1610 whilst serving on the English Mission, and his name appears in a list of priests and Jesuits sent to Dover for transportation in February 1620. During the civil wars he was captured by the Parliamentary forces, and cast into prison for an attempt to visit Father John Hudd, a prisoner awaiting his trial in Lincoln Prison. Father Felton died shortly after his release had been purchased by some friends, on February 27, 1645.

John Sweet was admitted to the College as a student in 1602. He left for a time in 1606 to settle some private affairs, but returned, and was ordained priest in 1608. The following year he became a Jesuit, and was for a while Penitentiary at St. Peter's. "He lived in the College with great edification to the scholars and spiritual help to people coming here (*i. e.* Rome), of whom he drew many to the

Catholic Faith, and disposed many favourably for accepting it. He did good work for souls when he went on the English Mission. He was captured at Exeter in November 1621, and committed to prison there, whence he was sent up to London to be a prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster, in October 1623. He was probably released at the end of the year, for his name appears in Gee's list of priests in or near London (1624) as " F. Sweete, a Jesuite, well knowne, lodginge at the upper end of Holborne."

William Bedford, really *Drury*, came to the College in 1605, and was ordained priest in 1610. He went to the Mission in 1612, and his name appears in the list of priests in the various London prisons in 1632 as " William Drury in the Clink."

Anthony Tilney, or *Greenway*, entered the College as a convictor, January 14, 1606. He had studied at Oxford, and was twenty-seven or twenty-eight when he came to Rome. He was ordained priest in September 1608, and became a Jesuit in 1611. He, however, was sent to England in 1612, and has given a personal narrative of his arrest, examination before the Bishop of London, and imprisonment for the Faith.

William Anderson, or *Foster*, took the College oath in 1606; but, apparently before his ordination, joined the Society of Jesus in October 1609. He had been converted by a priest named Pigot, then in prison, and went to St. Omer's for his humanities. Whilst on the Mission " Father Foster received the dying son of Thornborough, the Protestant Bishop of Worcester, into the Church, having been called in by the Catholic daughter of that prelate. The enraged Bishop seized the Father and consigned him to a loathsome dungeon in Worcester Gaol, but shortly after paid the penalty for this cruel conduct by dying a miserable death." Father Foster died at St. Omer's June 9, 1657.

Edmund Neville, alias *Elijah Nelson*, was admitted to the English College in 1606, but only took the missionary oath in 1608 just before his ordination to the priesthood. The following year he became a Jesuit, and, after his novitiate, was sent to labour in England. When bedridden, at the extreme age of eighty-five, he was in 1648

dragged from his bed by the Parliamentarian soldiers, thrown into a cart and committed to prison as a priest. He was afterwards removed to London and called up for trial, when for lack of evidence he was discharged. He soon afterwards died from the effects of the brutal treatment he had received.

William Whittingham came to Rome and took the College oath in 1607. He had only studied his philosophy and one year's theology, when he made up his mind to become a Jesuit, and on September 27, 1611, left the College to pass his novitiate at Nantes. The Jesuit Records say that "he suffered imprisonment for several years in Newgate for the Catholic Faith, and, during the last year of his life, reconciled a hundred and fifty persons to the Catholic Church."

Henry Brooke, or *Hawkins*, came to Rome in 1609, and after his ordination joined the Jesuits in 1615. Being sent on the English Mission, he was arrested and banished with several other priests in 1618. He returned to his mission, and, after giving twenty-five years' service he died at Ghent August 18, 1646.

Richard Audrey, or *Bartlett*, was ordained priest in 1611, and, having finished his studies, left for England April 22, 1615. He became a Jesuit in 1616, and, after suffering imprisonment for the Faith, was sent into exile in 1618, with eleven other Jesuits. He returned to his perilous work, and finally died at the College of Rennes February 22, 1645.

Thomas Wharton, or *Foster*, of York, was admitted to take the College oath in 1609, and on December 27, 1614, was ordained by Cardinal Bellarmine. In 1616 he departed for the English Mission. Driven from the missions in Yorkshire by the heat of persecution, he took refuge in Lincolnshire, where he was arrested and thrown into Lincoln Gaol. Here he died in chains, a martyr for the Faith, March 31, 1648.

Robert Arden, or *Grosvenor*, was admitted to the College in 1614, and took the missionary oath in 1616. He finished his studies at the College and was sent to England April 1620. In the same year he was received into the Society of Jesus in Belgium. He returned to the English Mission

in 1624, and was many times imprisoned for the Catholic Faith. At one period he passed two years in the dungeons of York and Hull. He died February 14, 1668, aged eighty-six.

Thomas Barker, or *Farmer*, came to the College in 1614, and was ordained in 1620. He left Rome in 1621, and the same year became a Jesuit. He was one of the victims of the Oates Plot, and in 1679, when he was eighty-six years old, he was seized by the priest-catchers and thrown into Newgate. He remained in its loathsome dungeons for two years and a half, and died soon after he was liberated, April 19, 1683.

John Taylor, actually *Robinson*, was admitted to the College in 1616. His parents were great sufferers for the Faith; his father, reduced to poverty, was thrown into prison, and died in chains; his mother was likewise imprisoned for several years for entertaining priests in her house, and died after her release. John Taylor entered the Society in 1620, and after his ordination was sent to England. He was at once captured and lodged in the prison of York Castle. Fr. Henry Morse, the martyr, was his fellow-prisoner, and, having been admitted to the Society in 1625, actually made his novitiate under Fr. John Robinson's guidance in his prison. In 1652 Fr. Robinson was again arrested and condemned to death as a priest at York Assizes. He was only reprieved at the gallows, and, after being long detained in prison, was eventually allowed to die in peace, September 20, 1675.

Thomas Rochester, or *Rogers*, took the College oath in May 1618, and, having been ordained priest August 9, 1620, left the College in October to become a Jesuit. He went on the English Mission in 1627, and in 1656 is reported as being in prison. He died on September 29, 1657 (probably n bonds).

Francis Gardiner, actually *Stephens*, after coming to the College in October 1617, was sent to England June 19, 1624. He apparently joined the Jesuits about the same year, if he be the same Francis Gardiner who is described in the list of Jesuits captured at Clerkenwell in that year as a "novice priest." In the *Menology of the Society* he is said to have died January 18, 1648: "Beloved for his

piety and sincerity. He was very devout in praying for the holy souls in Purgatory, and was confident of obtaining assistance from them in all dangers and difficulties. Nor was he disappointed, for, happening to fall into the hands of the pursuivants while carrying the Holy Viaticum to the sick, the officers searched him so closely that they stripped him to the shirt. Thereupon he said to our Lord: 'My God, save Thyself, for I can now do no more.' At the same time he held the small pyx closed in his hand, and no one noticed it."

Cuthbert Green, or *Clapton*, came to the English College in 1631, and after being ordained, left for England April 27, 1638. The Jesuit Superiors of the Venerabile noted him as "inconstant and inobservant of discipline"; but he proved himself a valiant Confessor of the Faith. Though living in the house of the Venetian Ambassador in London, he was seized in 1641 by the aid of the apostate Carpenter, in the time of the Parliament. He was tried as a priest and condemned to death, together with Father William Ward, an old father of eighty years. This latter received the martyr's crown at Tyburn on July 26, 1641. Cuthbert Clapton, however, was liberated upon the demand of the Ambassador, and coming to Rome after his imprisonment, died in the Eternal City in 1644. He was buried in the church of the English College.

This long list of Confessors of the Faith from the Annals of the English College most certainly only gives the names of some of those students who suffered for their religion. It will have been noticed that, in the majority of cases, the circumstances of the heroic constancy displayed is known because the Confessors were students who either in their student days or subsequently whilst on the English Mission had become Jesuits. More fortunate than their companions in the College, who subsequently had to face the same perils in the exercise of their ministry, they found in the Order they joined brethren eager to set down the particulars of their combat. In this way, through the researches of Brother Foley, we know much more of the career and sufferings of such as became Jesuits than we do about the rest.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COLLEGE IN THE SECOND CENTURY OF ITS EXISTENCE

From 1680 to 1695 Cardinal Howard, a member of the noble family of the Dukes of Norfolk, was Cardinal Protector of the English College. Under the Protectorate of this Cardinal so much was done for the buildings of the College, and his benefactions were so great, that it is only right that his name should be remembered by all students of the Venerabile with gratitude.

Cardinal Howard was born at Arundel House in London in 1629, the third son of Henry Frederick Howard, third Earl of Arundel. He was for a time a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, and after a brief stay there, went to Utrecht and subsequently to Antwerp, where he determined to devote his life to the service of religion. His grandfather, who at this time had conformed to the State religion, raised serious objections to this, and he was sent with his brothers for a long continental tour. Whilst in Milan he came across an Irish Dominican friar, John Baptist Hacket, and going with him to the Dominican convent at Cremona, received the habit of the Order in 1645. His family did all that was possible to make him return to the secular state, and finally he was sent for by Pope Innocent X in September 1645, and placed with the Oratorian Fathers at the Chiesa Nuova. After five months' trial, and after several personal interviews with the Pope, the Holy Father was convinced of the call of the young man to religion, and in October 1646 he made his profession at S. Clemente.

Father Philip Thomas Howard subsequently had an eventful life, and amongst his other deeds founded a Dominican House at Bornhem, in East Flanders. King

Charles II of England was privately married to Catherine of Braganza in 1662, in the presence of the future Cardinal, who became the private chaplain of the Queen and resided at the English Court. Pepys records a visit he made to him at St. James's Palace January 23, 1667, and declares that he found him "a good-natured gentleman," discussed church music with him, and was shown over the "new monastery," both "talking merrily about the difference in our religion."

In 1669 the Holy See determined to appoint Howard the Vicar-Apostolic in England. Since Dr. Richard Smith, second Vicar-Apostolic, who died in Paris in 1655, no successor had been created. The English clergy, whilst approving the appointment of Howard, resolved that the title *Vicar Apostolic* was inexpedient, and begged that he might have the ordinary jurisdiction of a bishop. A long controversy ensued, but finally, the Bulls which had been made out for his consecration, were suspended in 1672, and he was not in fact consecrated. On May 27, 1675, he was made Cardinal priest by Pope Clement X, taking first as his title the Church of Sta. Cecilia, and on the death of Cardinal de Retz in 1679, that of Sta. Maria super Minervam. In this same year, at the request of Charles II, he was named Cardinal Protector of England in succession to Cardinal Barberini who died in 1679. He thus became also Protector of the English College.

Under Cardinal Howard's direction, and, it is said, at the cost of 10,000 scudi, the rebuilding of the College as well as of the palace next door was undertaken. This work was finished in 1685, according to the designs of Legenda and Carlo Fontana. The Cardinal commenced to pay to the College rent for the palace from April 17, 1685, but he used it only on state occasions, since although he had a pension of 10,000 scudi (£2250) from the Pope, and apartments in the Vatican, he preferred to lead the simple life of a friar in the Dominican convent of Sta. Sabina.

When the birth of James Francis Edward Prince of Wales on June 10, 1688, was known in Rome, Cardinal Howard, always a staunch Englishman, "gave a feast in which an ox was roasted whole, being stuffed with lambs,

fowls and provisions of all kinds."[1] On his death, which took place in Rome on June 17, 1694, Cardinal Howard was buried in the church of the Minerva, where a plain marble slab with the Howard arms and an inscription still marks the spot. After his death his benefactions to the English College involved the establishment in a lawsuit with the Dominicans. He had left the Order his heir to build a house in Flanders, and the Dominicans set up the contention that the sum of 10,000 scudi (£2250) spent by the Protector upon the improvements of the College was a loan and not a gift.

At the same time as the College was rebuilt, the Church was likewise much improved and refurnished. To meet these expenses, besides the donations made by the Cardinal of Norfolk, as the Protector was usually called in Rome, some of the property possessed by the College was sold, and money was likewise raised by mortgage on other rents and houses. One immediate result of the rebuilding and refitting of the College was to re-establish the reputation of the institution and to increase the numbers of the *alumni* and convictors. Unfortunately, the changes and reforms which the Cardinal of Norfolk had designed to introduce were suspended in great measure by the political events in England and elsewhere. In England, the revolution of 1688 and the flight of King James II reacted naturally on the English College in Rome, whilst the Jansenist troubles in France had also the effect of a drag upon the good intentions of the Cardinal Protector. Nevertheless a most useful and necessary work was accomplished by his interest and determination, for which English Catholics, and in particular all students of the Venerabile, must ever hold the name of Cardinal Howard in benediction.

In regard to the appointment of Bishops for England, the Cardinal had always maintained the necessity of proper ecclesiastical government in that country, and in Rome he seconded the efforts of the English secular clergy to obtain Bishops. For a time the opposition of some of the Regulars and of the existing secular Chapter, who objected to the title of Vicar-Apostolic, defeated the purpose. But at length in 1685 a Vicar-Apostolic was appointed, and three

[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, s.v.

years later, in 1688, England was divided by Pope Innocent XI into four ecclesiastical districts, over which Vicars-Apostolic were appointed to preside. The Cardinal of Norfolk was thus able before his death to see the establishment of some form of episcopal government in England, for which he had so long contended, and the appointment of these four Bishops proved a considerable help to the stability of the College in Rome.

After Cardinal Howard's death the office of Protector of England and of the English College remained vacant for more than twenty years. Meanwhile the English Vicars-Apostolic renewed their complaints about the results obtained from the National Institution, and, as the English secular clergy had frequently done before, made urgent requests to the Holy See to change the government of the College. The supreme Pontiff Innocent XII thereupon ordered another Visitation of the establishment, which was continued under his successor Clement XI. Cardinal Francesco Barberini was the Visitor chosen, and the result of his work was the publication in 1702 of certain rules for discipline and to secure the proper administration of the property; but without the formality of any Acts of the Visitation. As a fact, however, the Visitation was not closed, but merely suspended under the following circumstances. A report, it is needless to say without foundation, was set in circulation in Rome that English ecclesiastics generally were infected by Jansenism, which at that time divided and dominated France. Rumours were set going about the orthodoxy not only of the English College in Rome but also about that of the Professors, etc., at Douay, nay, even the Vicars-Apostolic of England were said to be infected by the errors prevailing in France. Though the reports, so ingeniously fostered by some parties in the Eternal City, were discredited by those who knew the facts, they were sufficient to suspend the Visitation then in progress. The parties supposed to be infected by heretical views and sympathies, vigorously expressed their indignation at the suspicions cast upon them, and absolutely denied that there was any ground whatever for them. The Court of James II of England, then in exile at St. Germain's, the

Professors and the Doctors of the University of Douay, the Papal Nuncio at Brussels and the English Vicars-Apostolic, wrote to the Pope in defence of their calumniated innocence.

In the end the Pope found that all the accusations were false, and on February 17, 1711, he wrote to the English Bishops to that effect, and congratulated them on their triumphant vindication against their calumniators. The Nuncio also, by the desire of the Holy See, undertook a Visitation of the College at Douay, which entirely cleared the reputation of that celebrated establishment. But these internal difficulties, and the fresh persecution of the Catholics in England, led to the suspension of the Visitation of the English College for more than twenty years. Naturally this state of things was unsatisfactory, and in the year 1736 the English Vicars-Apostolic again besought Pope Clement XII to find some measures to put an end to it, by taking some practical steps to carry out the changes in the government of the College they had long asked for.

The Holy Father at once took the matter in hand, and commissioned the Cardinals De Via and Rovere (the former being Cardinal Protector of England, had become in 1729 also Protector of the Venerabile, the latter the Protector of Scotland), together with Monsignor Belmonte, to reassume the enquiry and finish it. Accordingly, on September 14, 1737, they began their work, and after holding various sessions they finished it on January 27, 1739.

The acts of the Visitation afford some interesting particulars about the College. The stable revenues of the establishment are stated to have been then 3822 scudi a year, besides about 1500 scudi from pensions, gifts, etc.

The personnel of the College was at that time composed of six Jesuits, with Father Joseph Marshall as Rector; two secular prefects; six Jesuit lay-brethren and five servants living out of the place. The students who in 1700 numbered thirty-eight, in 1739 were only sixteen. In these thirty-nine years, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the end of the Visitation, the number of those who passed through the College is given as 194, an average practically of five a year, and of this number only forty-six

took up the work of the English Mission, at any rate as secular priests.[1]

Of the sixteen English College students remaining in the Venerabile in 1739, four were studying theology, nine philosophy, and two were still being taught their humanities. No indication is given of the status of those who had been sent out to countries other than England, some were priests, some evidently were not.

In England at this time the position of Catholics was deplorable, and there was an urgent need for priests to sustain the spirit of the ever oppressed poor remnant of those who were loyal to the old Faith. An entry in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February 1735 shows that from time to time the hand of the law made itself felt against those who persisted in the practice of their religion.

"Sunday 23. About eleven o'clock, the Peace Officers going their rounds to the public-houses, to prevent disorderly smoking and tippling in time of Divine Service, discovered a private Mass-house at a little ale-house at the

[1] The following figures are given—

Priests sent to England	46
„ „ „ France	20
„ „ „ Flanders	12
No destination	16
Expelled for various reasons	34
Fugitives	4
Died in Rome	11
Entered various orders	9
Became Jesuits	7
Absolved from the oath	5
Not admitted to take the oath	14
Still at the College	16

The following were the number of students at the College in the years from 1700—

1700	38	1724	24
1703	27	1727	28
1704	24	1730	22
1705	20	1732	24
1710	19	1735	26
1715	25	1736	24
1716	21	1737	23
1718	27	1738	20
1720	14	1739	16

back of Shoreditch, where nearly a hundred people had got together in a garret, most of them miserable, poor and ragged, and upon examination appeared to be Irish. Some few were well dressed and several Mass-books were found with them. The priest made his escape out of a back door, leaving the rest to shift for themselves, whereupon some got out of a trap door and others, after giving an account of their names and places of abode, were let quietly depart. Notwithstanding, a great many met in the evening at the same place, declaring that Mass should be said there." [1]

In 1737 Bishop Petre prepared a statement of the position and needs of the English Mission to be presented to the Holy See. It declares that the number of Catholics is daily diminishing for various reasons, and, amongst others, because a suitable body of missioners was not at hand, and the Bishops believed that this could only be supplied by a reform in the administration of the seminaries abroad, and especially of those at Rome and Valladolid. The points of reform specially suggested are that the full income of each college should be spent on the education of the students; that only those students shall be admitted who are sent to those colleges by the Vicars-Apostolic, and that the course of studies be better adapted to the needs of the English Mission.[2]

The joint letter of the English Bishops must have arrived opportunely for the consideration of the Cardinals De Via and Rovere, then occupied in examining into the difficulties at the College in Rome. The Bishops state that from 1724 to 1736 only fifteen students from the Venerabile had come to work in England. But, according to the English Provincial of the Jesuits, Father Brown, in a letter to Bishop Petre, the number really was five-and-twenty. From the Diary of the College, however, it would appear that neither number is quite correct, and that during these twelve years the College in Rome sent eighteen or nineteen secular priests to England.

As the practical result of the enquiry of the Cardinals several very useful decrees were made for the better govern-

[1] Dr. Burton, *Life of Bishop Challoner*, i. p. 79.
[2] *Ib.*, pp. 80–81.

ment of the Venerabile, and some of those made by Cardinal Barberini as Visitor appointed by Pope Alexander VII in 1655 were confirmed. These were largely connected with economy, administration, the admission of students, piety and discipline. In particular the study of sacred Scripture and modern controversy useful for the English Mission was enjoined, so as to meet the complaints of the English Bishops that students returned to their own country ill-prepared for their work and for the difficulties they would have to encounter there. These decrees, it may here be remarked, were the basis of those which were issued in 1818 by Cardinal Consalvi on the re-establishment of the English College after the French Revolution.

Nothing, however, was done to meet the chief request of the Vicars-Apostolic of England in regard to the government of the College. Apparently, the only notice taken of this matter is the remarks in the *Votum* of Monsignor Belmonte. He was of opinion that the demands of the Bishops for the restoration of the College to secular clergy were "weak, egotistical and insufficient to justify their requests."

The result of this Visitation destroyed the hopes of the English clergy and their confidence in the College, which became ever less acceptable to the English, and it was increasingly difficult to get for it students who had finished their humanities. The year 1753 is a notable date in the history of the Church in England, since in that year Pope Benedict XIV issued the celebrated Bull *Apostolicum Ministerium*, which regulated the jurisdiction of the Bishops over the missions served by the members of the Regular Orders. This removed at once many occasions of difficulty and doubt. One of the immediate results of the Pope's decision was to draw the attention of the Roman authorities to the complaints which had been made so frequently by the Visitors-Apostolic as to the results of the education of the English students in Rome, and as to the small assistance that the College gave in furnishing labourers to the English Mission. "The Bishops," writes Dr. Burton, "felt that, as long as they were not consulted on the selection of candidates, they would continue to be saddled with unsuit-

able and often undesirable missioners. Dr. Challoner seized the opportunity offered by this more favourable condition of things to select from his district three youths, and to dispatch them to the English College, at the same time intimating that the Vicars-Apostolic of both the Midland and Northern Districts were about to do the same." [1]

Dr. Christopher Stonor, the agent of the English Bishops in Rome, wrote to Challoner that this action on the part of the English Vicars-Apostolic had given great satisfaction. . . . "I find they (*i. e.* the Roman authorities) are very desirous that we should have the choosing of the youths that are to be educated in that house; and certainly it is more desirable, and much more likely to answer the end of the institution to have hopeful youths of our choosing than to be forced to take up with the *quisquiliæ* or leavings of other people." "For my part," writes Challoner in reply, "I am so much convinced of the importance of our embracing this opportunity of fixing the choice of the subjects to be sent thither, that the Bishops should do all in their power to find proper subjects. They should be at least fourteen years old, and know the first rudiments of Latin." [2]

It was time that something was done to build up the College, if it was to be saved from final ruin. It had become increasingly difficult to obtain from other colleges students who had finished their humanity studies. St. Omer's continued to supply a few, but this source was stopped when the Jesuits were suppressed in France in 1763, and it became at last impossible to observe the Constitution of Pope Gregory XIII for the English College, which required that the *alumni* were to be limited to students in philosophy and theology. The English Bishops were unable to furnish advanced students, and on September 14, 1764, Bishop Challoner writes to the Rector, Fr. Booth, sending two young boys for rudiments, "as we have no convenience at present of sending you any from hence that are farther advanced." [3]

In 1772 the financial state of the College had become almost desperate, and on May 5 the Rector begged leave to pawn at the Monte di Pietà a jug and basin of silver

[1] *Life of Bishop Challoner*, i. p. 361. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Scritture*, 46.

gilt to meet the pressing wants of the students. He obtained permission by a rescript signed by Cardinal Cavalchini, of the Congregation of Vescovi e Regolari.[1]

The suppression of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV necessarily involved changes in the administration of the English College. On the night of August 16, 1773, the date of the Brief of Suppression, the General of the Society, Fr. Laurenzo Ricci, the supposed author of the famous expression, "Aut sint ut sunt, aut non sint,"[2] was conducted by Corsican soldiers to the English College. Here he was imprisoned in an upper gallery under the guard of his captors until preparations had been made for his reception into the Castle of Sant' Angelo on the 22nd of September, where he passed the remainder of his life. For the English College, this treatment of the Father-General, which appears to us so harsh and unnecessary, was, say the Archives of the College, *expensive* for the establishment.

On the Suppression, the management of the College was at once entrusted to the care of Italian ecclesiastics; men, no doubt, excellent and talented, but necessarily ignorant of English needs and not able to speak the language of the students. Dr. Stonor wrote to Bishop Challoner on this subject in the September of this year, 1773: "That you may be better able to give your opinion upon this subject," he says, "I will here acquaint you with what His Eminence [the Protector, Cardinal Corsini] has told me of his views and intentions. His design is to put the house under the care of secular priests: and intends that the first superiors and masters should be Italians, persons he is thoroughly acquainted with and sure of. But, as it is necessary there should be also some Englishmen to keep up the practice of the English tongue, and to oversee the exercises in the English, he would be glad you should look about for a proper person to recommend to him. . . . His design is that the young men should go no more to the publick schools

[1] *Scritture*, 48, 5.

[2] Although Father Ricci is generally credited with this saying, Crétineau-Joly (*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ed. 1846, vol. v. p. 308) gives reason for the belief that in reality it was used by Pope Clement XIII.

in town, but have their schools and masters at home: and he hopes in time to raise masters and superiors out of the members of the house, as is practised at Doway: he is desirous that the young men that are sent here for the future, should be fit at least to commence their Rhetorick. He is no stranger to the difficulties that might attend the bringing up youths so far in their studies in England: but is ready to obviate them effectually: as he hopes to be able to allow enough to maintain at S. Omer's, till Rhetorick, a number of such youths as you and your confrères may think proper subjects to send hither and like to answer the end of this foundation." [1]

Later on Bishop Challoner communicated to the other Vicars-Apostolic the news that he had received another letter from Dr. Stonor saying that a memorial had been presented to the Pope on the subject of the English College, and that he hoped "to obtain English Superiors and Masters for the Institution." He urges that they should have fitting men to propose "a superior, a master of Divinity and of Philosophy and perhaps one of Rhetorick, or a procurator would be enough in the beginning." [2]

Nothing, however, came of these good intentions, and the arrangements made by Cardinal Corsini to have Italian superiors and professors at the English College continued till the French occupation in 1796. Few priests came to the English Mission during this period, and many students who were received were found to be unfitted and sent away. It is impossible not to recognise that this failure of the Institution to carry out the object for which it had been created was not due to the want of talent and good will on the part of the Superiors and Professors, but to their ignorance of the customs, character and language of those they had to direct. Their pupils after eight or ten years resident in the College returned to England with so little knowledge of the difficulties they would have to meet in the exercise of their ministry and even of their native language, that they were almost regarded as foreigners, and sometimes were unable to catechise, instruct or preach when called upon to do so.

[1] *Life of Bishop Challoner*, ii. p. 163. [2] *Ib.*, p. 168.

In 1781 there were at the College eight priests as Superiors and Professors, three prefects and twenty-three students, and from a diary of the Rector Felici it appears that of these, three died at the College, eleven were sent away, four proved to have no vocation and left, and five only were ordained priests. Ten years later the Vicars-Apostolic again approached the Pope, Pius VI, in regard to the English College, and again urged the necessity of placing it under the government of English secular priests. This time their agent, Monsignor Stonor, was more successful, and they received a favourable reply through Propaganda. The rescript was dated April 2, 1783, and it was couched in the following terms: "Since this is so much desired by you, in future care shall be taken that when next the Office shall become vacant, one of your priests, whose piety, doctrine and capability of administration is assured, shall be appointed head of the College." This decree was signed by the Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Antonelli, and by the secretary, Monsignor Borgia.

Nothing, unfortunately, could be done at the time. Cardinal Corsini held the office of Protector of the College from 1773 till his death in 1795. He had introduced the system of Italian professors and superiors, and the system of studies followed in the Institution. He had, indeed, chosen and appointed himself all these professors and the Rector, and perhaps naturally was unwilling to destroy his own work by putting the Pontifical decree into execution. Moreover, at this time the storm of the French Revolution had overwhelmed and ruined all the English colleges, monasteries, etc. which had existed in France and the Low Countries, and the clouds were already threatening Italy and Rome. The English Mission was in dire need of help. This was recognised even by the English Government, and in the time of this calamity it set itself to favour the education of the Catholic clergy, founding the great College of Maynooth in Ireland and subsidising the poor clergy in Scotland. The English Minister to the Roman Court strongly recommended the Holy Father to give life to the national Colleges of England and Scotland by placing them under Superiors of their own nationality

in accordance with the rescript of Propaganda. His effort was seconded by the Cardinal of York, the Cardinal Dean, Albani, Protector of Scotland, Cardinal Campanelli, Protector of England, and Cardinals Antonelli and Gerdil, successively Prefects of Propaganda. The Reverend Paul Macpherson was immediately appointed Rector of the Scotch College, where, as a fact, he was already in possession, and Cardinal Campanelli was preparing to do the same for the English College when he died, and very shortly after the French took possession of the Eternal City.

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC DISPUTATIONS AND SERMONS

From the earliest days of the College the students were encouraged to take part in public disputations and sermons in Rome. A volume still existing in the Archives of the College, though unfortunately now somewhat mutilated, records not only the names of those who took part in these public acts, but the sermons and speeches themselves, which they preached or spoke. The first student whose name is given as a preacher was Edward Throckmorton, who delivered his sermon in the College Refectory on the feast of the "Finding of the Holy Cross," May 3, 1581. He was then only nineteen years of age, and had come to Rome the previous year; but he had exceptional abilities, and was a most saintly youth. The *Annual Letters* thus speak of him: "While yet but a child he gave promise of future sanctity, as we learn from those who had known him in England. His zeal for winning souls to Christ was even then far beyond his years. His main purpose was to recall to the Faith such of his companions as had gone astray, to confirm the wavering, and to encourage those that were suffering for religion's sake. He used to teach rude and uninstructed Catholics the method of prayer, read to them Saints' lives and lead them on to all godliness. . . . It was by means of the glorious martyr, Father Ralph Sherwin, a former student of this College, that he came to Rome. On his admission he at once gave a shining example of virtue, manifesting in all he did a rare prudence, the deepest humility and most exact obedience."[1]

He was one of the three English College students who died in 1582, the other two being Ralph Shirley and Thomas Bennett, both models of virtue and piety.

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 96.

"Edward Throckmorton," continues the account in the *Annual Letters*, "so ordered every detail of his daily work as to excite the wonder of all. After his death a rule of life for every day was found, which he had faithfully carried out. He had vowed chastity, and the Father to whom he made the confession of his whole life bears witness that he preserved his virginity unstained. He persevered so earnestly in striving for the mastery over his passions and self-will that he was the admiration of his Superiors and director. He frequently asked leave to inflict the most severe mortifications on his body, and held himself in so little account that, though he dealt most harshly with himself, he considered that he was too self-indulgent. Hence he suffered no day to pass without asking leave for some penitential infliction. Such was his obedience that not only his actions, but even his thoughts were submitted to the judgement of his Superiors as to a safe and most trustworthy standard. But as his life and actions far excelled what is told of the fervour of ordinary devout people, they have been described at full length in a letter, which those who wish to know more of him would do well to read. I will add but this one trait; he was at times so overwhelmed with the abundance of heavenly delights as to be forced to exclaim, 'Enough, O Lord, enough: hold the hand of Thy loving-kindness.' At length the end of his brief course was at hand and he fell sick. During his illness he was molested by diabolical illusions, but was comforted by a vision of Christ and of St. Odo, whom, according to the College custom, he had drawn for his monthly patron. After exhibiting a bright example of patience he departed this life on St. Odo's day (November 18, 1582). His death produced so deep an impression that many felt moved to more earnest strivings after virtue, and when, as is the custom, he was recommended to the prayers of the students, they unanimously replied that it was fitter to chant the *Te Deum* for him than the Office of the Dead." [1] *In articulo mortis* he was received into the Society of Jesus.

It was the constant practice of Pope Gregory XIII to show his interest in the students of the College of which he

[1] *Records*, ut sup. p. 97.

was the founder, and to receive the missioners before their departure to England. In March 1581, four priests, namely: Fathers William Harrison, Arthur Pitt, William Hart and Hugh Probert, went to kiss the Pope's feet and to receive his blessing. The Holy Father overwhelmed them with kindness and gave each of them fifty gold pieces for the journey. One of these four, William Hart, afterwards a martyr for the Faith, made a short address to His Holiness, in Latin, "which both moved and consoled the Pontiff and all who were present." In a history of the College this address must be given in full.

"Most Blessed Father,—Gratitude is of so strict an obligation, that it behoves us to beware not so much of choosing an unseasonable occasion of testifying our lively memory of favours received, as of neglecting at any time to satisfy its claims. We must confess that Your Holiness has bound us to yourself by so many benefits, that though, being strangers, we find it difficult to give expression to our feelings, yet, as we are not ungrateful, we must needs give some token of our deep sense of what has been done for us. Constrained, therefore, both by a sense of duty and by the greatness of your charity in our regard, dutifully prostrate at your sacred feet, we make bold briefly to express for the last time (as we may not hope to have the privilege again) our heartfelt gratitude and to rehearse the favours received at your hands.

"Of all the monuments which your virtues have raised to themselves throughout Christendom none are more glorious or shine with purer lustre than the provision made by you for the welfare and salvation of the souls of our fellow-countrymen who are being dragged down to perdition. By your fatherly tenderness, care and solicitude has it been brought about that those who were children of wrath have now become heirs of God, fellow-heirs with Jesus Christ. You have opened up and cleared of its obstacles the way of return to the faith and practice of our ancestral religion for all who are willing to enter upon it and to walk therein, and have encouraged us to look forward to the complete re-conversion of our fatherland, by opposing to the barbarous rage of the heretics those

schools of virtue and learning, the Seminaries of Rome and Rheims.

"So great are the benefits we gladly acknowledge to have received from you, so divine are they, that to attempt to set them forth in laboured discourse were to mar their splendour. Remit not, most Blessed Father, your efforts to aid the afflicted and comfort the wretched, nor withhold that fostering care for our dear England which it needed no one to inspire you with, though events prove contrary and the times evil. This is the prayer addressed to you by the cries of helpless infants, the moanings of mothers, the tears of our nobles, the earnest entreaties of the clergy, the loyalty to this Holy See of which so many of our countrymen have given proof. What they, being absent, are unable to say, may not be suppressed by us who are privileged to behold your fatherly countenance.

"To conclude. It has pleased the Divine Goodness, and has seemed good to our Superiors into whose hands we have committed ourselves that we should return to England as labourers in an abundant harvest; in other words to strive with all our might to gain the souls of our brethren. We cannot but be fully aware of the toils of the journey, the blood-stained weapons of the foe, the unheard-of atrocities of the heretics, not to mention countless other circumstances. Impelled, as it were by that instinct which urges even the lower animals, when goaded by hunger, to seek out him by whom they have once been fed, we too, under pressure of our necessities, have recourse to your bounty, to that ever-flowing source of favour at which we have so often drunk, nothing fearing, nothing doubting. Unworthy indeed were the thought that the open hand which maintained us during our studies would be closed against us at our going forth; rather do we rest assured that the generosity which has trained us will not fail to arm us now we are entering the lists. On our part we will not cease to pray as heretofore to the most High for the peace, unity and authority of Holy Church, and for the well-being of Your Holiness, which as we plainly see bound up with that of all. Farewell! Long may you live, Most Blessed Father!"

In this same year, 1581, in which Edward Throckmorton preached his sermon in the College Refectory, another student made an address before and after the defension held in public in the presence of the Cardinal Protector, Boncompagni. This was Andrew Gibbons, a native of Wells in Somerset, who was admitted to the College, apparently in 1580. He left before his ordination and died in 1583 at Bonn. On St. Stephen's Day was inaugurated a long-continued practice of one of the students preaching before the Pope and Cardinals in the Sistine Chapel on that feast. The ceremonial to be observed on these occasions is noted down in the volume of addresses and sermons before referred to. A carriage was sent from the Vatican to bring the preacher from the College: he was to remain in the sacristy vested in his surplice until the Master of Ceremonies came to fetch him after the singing of the Gospel. He was then, on entering the Chapel, to bow profoundly to the Cardinal celebrating the Mass, and then to proceed to the papal throne, where first kneeling on both knees he was to ascend and kiss the Pope's foot, to salute His Holiness with a bow, and returning to the bottom step, was again to genuflect on both knees, and having received the blessing, was to ask permission to publish the usual Indulgences. In his sermon he was not to turn directly to the Pope, but to look rather to the Cardinals; neither was he to raise his voice too loudly, and to beware of being carried away by his eloquence or of making use of too many gestures. After the sermon was finished, he was directed to return to the steps of the throne and remain kneeling whilst the Confiteor was being sung, after which he was to rise and publish the Indulgence, again kneeling whilst the Holy Father pronounced the blessing. At the end he was to follow the Master of Ceremonies to the sacristy. The occasion must have been a trying ordeal for the student even although, as was evidently the case, the Latin discourse had been composed for him. The feast suggested references to the possible martyrdom of the selected orator, when his turn came to go forth from Rome for the English Mission. On this first occasion, St. Stephen's Day, 1581, the young preacher was John Cornelius, who after eleven years of

apostolate in England was crowned by martyrdom in 1594.

In 1582, on the feast of the Holy Trinity, William Brookesby preached a sermon before the Cardinal Protector in the College Refectory; and later on in the year, at the time of the Forty Hours' Exposition, Father Cornelius was again the preacher selected to address the congregation gathered in the College Church. The account of the Institution of this devotion at the College given in the Annual Letter of this year is of interest. "The Forty Hours' Exposition has been twice held in the College Church, for the relief of the spiritual needs of England, and His Holiness granted a Plenary Indulgence to all who were present. Besides an immense concourse of people, the Cardinals, many members of the prelacy, of the confraternities, and of the Roman, German and Greek Colleges, together with that of the newly baptised, assembled in due order and spent a whole hour in prayer. At fixed intervals the students discoursed in Latin, and the Fathers in Italian on the troubles of that ill-fated island. The impression made, not only on the vulgar and humbler sort, but on the prelates and dignitaries present, manifested itself in the length and fervour of their visit and their abundant tears. The Mass of Deposition, as also that of Exposition, was sung with all due solemnity by a Bishop. His Holiness Gregory XIII, out of his gracious partiality to the English nation, of which our College founded and endowed by his munificence is so admirable an instance, has issued a Brief addressed to Catholic princes and the rest of the faithful, to interest their charity in behalf of the numerous exiles for conscience' sake. The Brief was published by the Lenten Preachers last Lent and fourteen of the most distinguished prelates and nobles were appointed to visit the several quarters of Rome, and collect contributions to the fund for the exiles. Besides these, certain of our students in sacred vestments and accompanied by a member of the English, Italian or Spanish nobility, stood at the doors of the church to solicit alms for the same charity, so that two thousand gold pieces have by this means been gathered in Rome. The College has taken steps to have similar

collections made in the several cities of Italy, and a sum of five thousand gold pieces has been gathered. The movement has been extended to the other countries of Europe, and a copy of the Papal Brief accompanied by a letter from the most illustrious Cardinal of St. Sixtus, the able patron of the College, has been sent to the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops resident in France, Spain and Germany. Whilst trusting that a liberal response will be made to this appeal, we do not forget that it will barely suffice for the needs of the immense number of the exiles. For, without taking into account those who are in divers places pursuing their studies at the charge of the Seminary of Rheims, it has to maintain one hundred and eighty residents, as well as those who daily come to it from England forsaken by their friends and despoiled of their goods for conscience' sake. Thither do they flock as to a common refuge of the afflicted; and after a course of study, they take priests' Orders and return to England. But with the view of throwing light on the wretched state of that Kingdom and the miserable plight of its Catholic inhabitants, a book on the English persecution has been republished at the expense of the College, to which have been added plates descriptive of the tortures which the enemies of the faith inflict upon our brethren." [1]

The sermons before the Pope were continued with great regularity till 1643, when the volume, in which these oratorical efforts of the English College students are recorded, came to an abrupt ending with apparently one quire of paper missing. On two occasions the sermon for St. Stephen's Day was preached at the Quirinal instead of the Vatican, and two of the selected preachers were only in deacons' Orders. One of these two was Thomas Hildesley, or, as he was known among the students, Thomas Mallet, who came of a good Catholic family of Berks and Oxfordshire. He only entered the College in October 1598, as a mere boy of fifteen, but he preached in the College Hall

[1] This was probably *De Persecutione Anglicana*, first printed at Bologna in 1581, reprinted with six plates at Rome, 1582, under the title *De Persecutione Anglicana commentariolus a Collegio Anglicano Romano, hoc anno 1582 in Urbe Editores.*

before Cardinal Farnese the next year, on St. Thomas's Day, 1599. He was ordained deacon in December 1604, and almost immediately after, on St. Stephen's feast, he preached, as just recorded, before the Pope and Cardinals. He died in the College only a few months later on July 20, 1605, and is described as being " dear to all on account of his remarkable virtues and very great amiability."

Amongst the other addresses and sermons in this Collection there may be specially noted an *Oratio* delivered by John Worthington in 1591, before the General of the Society of Jesus and Father Parsons when he came back from Spain with the latter. Worthington is an interesting personality. He came to Douay on October 13, 1584, with his brother Richard; and his uncle, Dr. Worthington, notes in the *Douay Diary*,[1] that the two youths had suffered imprisonment for the Faith in England and with difficulty escaped abroad. He was apparently a son of Richard Worthington who died in prison, a Confessor of the Faith, in 1590. From Douay he was sent to the Jesuit School at Reichnau to study his humanities, and returning thence was afterwards in 1590 sent with nine others to begin the college at Seville in Spain. Although he is entered in the English College Diary as " coming to Rome with Father Parsons and becoming an inmate only in 1597," he was certainly there in 1591, in which year he made the address as noted above before the General of the Jesuits. He joined the Society on October 15, 1598.

In 1610 Father Parsons, then Rector of the English College, died, and the funeral sermon in the church was preached by an English College student, Henry Walker, *alias* Bentley, who had been ordained in 1609. He had been admitted to the College in 1598, but had to go back to England in 1604, for a time. He publicly defended the whole theses of theology, and joined the Society in 1610, the year of Father Parsons' death. On the same day, another student recited a long Latin poem in memory of the departed Rector. This was Thomas Cloford, or Coke, a nephew of Lord Chief Justice Coke and a convert to the Faith, who had entered the College in 1607. He was not a priest in 1610, being ordained only in 1614, and is described " as

[1] *Douay Diary*, i. p. 203.

being a youth of great ability." He also subsequently became a Jesuit.

One student, John Lea, or Southcote, a native of London, preached twice before the Pope and Cardinals upon St. Stephen's Day, in 1610, and again in 1612. He had come to the College in 1604, and was ordained priest in April 1612. In the College Diary it is said of him, "he twice publicly defended theses in philosophy, once according to our custom, in the school of theology; the second time at the Roman College, gaining the highest encomium of Cardinal Bellarmine. In his fourth year of theology he made *the small act* before Cardinal Bellarmine and then defended the whole theses of theology in the presence of Cardinals, both morning and evening." He afterwards took the degree of Doctor at Paris in 1623.[1]

In this same old volume there is a copy of some Greek verses spoken at 1615, at a College Academy before the General of the Jesuits, by Robert Stanford or Stafford, son of an old Catholic family of Perry Hall, Staffordshire. After making his early studies in England, and at St. Omer's, Stafford came to the English College in 1613. He was ordained in 1616, having "admirably defended at the Rome College the theses in philosophy." In 1617 he, too, entered the Society of Jesus.

Two other sermons preached before Pope Urban VIII in 1642 and 1643 may be noted, since they are the last entered in the volume now in the Archives from which these records are taken. The first was preached on St. Stephen's Day by Charles Baker, who had come to the College in 1638 and had been made priest in 1642, a few months before his sermon. His real name was David Lewis, but he was generally known in England as Charles Baker. He subsequently joined the Society and died a glorious martyr for the Faith in 1680. The second and the last sermon recorded was preached by George Paulet, whose real name was Matthew Thimelby, who came to the College in 1638 and was ordained priest in 1643, in which year he was the preacher in the Sistine Chapel on St. Stephen's Day.

To the account of these sermons and addresses may be added what Moroni relates in his *Cappella Pontificia*[2] in

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 223.

[2] pp. 385–6.

regard to the Cappella for the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which was held by the Cardinals of the *Congregazione dell' immunità ecclesiastica* in the church of the English College. After speaking of the foundation of the College on the site of the old Hospice by Pope Gregory XIII, and the rebuilding of the church by Cardinal Howard in 1575, he writes: "We know from Burcardus that the cappella above named was celebrated in his time. In 1502 on the 29th of December, a solemn Mass was sung in the church of the English Hospice, on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury," in the presence of cardinals and prelates. Perhaps this afterwards fell into disuse as it is not noted in 1623. In confirmation, however, of what Burcardus relates, Moroni cites from the Archives of the College the following: "Sermon preached on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury before the Cardinals in the English College 1589," and "Sermon preached, etc., 1590."

To the above Moroni adds that when James III, the King of England, lived in Rome, in 1721, on the morning of the feast, Pope Clement XI went to the church and celebrated Mass, before the *Cappella Cardinalizia*, and added a collect for the Queen, who was then expecting her confinement. After the return of Pius VII to Rome, as the College chapel had been destroyed, the Cappella of Cardinals on the feast could not be held there, and so in 1815, Cardinal Pacca, then Dean of the Sacred College, and pro-Prefect of the "Congregation of ecclesiastical immunities," caused the Cappella to be celebrated in the Church of S. Silvestro in Capite. This Cappella Cardinalizia was always held with great solemnity. The Cardinals were in full dress as in a Papal chapel, and the prelates and consultors in their full ecclesiastical robes. A bishop sang the Mass, and the Pontifical choir sang Palestrina's motet, *Hic est vere Martyr.*

Besides these public sermons, addresses and defensions, the English College students used to take part in plays, etc., in Latin, Italian and English. The remnants of a volume in the Archives contain four of the Latin plays composed, no doubt, by one of the Jesuit professors for the students to act. The four are: the *Tragedy of Blessed Thomas More*, apparently written in 1612: the *Tragedy of*

St. Thomas of Canterbury; a Drama-tragedo-comico called *Captiva Religio*, and a Tragedy called *Roffensis*, relating the trial and martyrdom of Blessed John Fisher. That these were not the only histrionic performances of the students may be learnt from such an unlikely source of information as *Evelyn's Diary*. The author came to Rome in November 1644, bringing with him letters of introduction amongst others to Father Courtney, "the chief of the Jesuits in the English College"; and on December 29 he says: "We were invited to the English Jesuites to dinner, being their great feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury. We dined in their Common Refectory, and afterwards saw an Italian Comedy acted by their alumni before the Cardinals." And again the following year, 1645, Evelyn says: "On Monday in Easter week April 15 we were entertained at night with an English play at the Jesuites, where we before had dined." On the first occasion, when Evelyn dined in the College Refectory on St. Thomas's Day, a note in the *Pilgrim Book* states that "about fifty dined in the College, besides the celebrant Bishop." [1]

Several references have already been made to the testimony of the *Annual Letters* as to the religious fervour which animated the students at various periods. It will be useful to give a quotation from another of these letters written in 1582. "The fervour of our students," the writer says, "shows no signs of flagging, on the contrary, it grows the more intense as the condition of their wretched country is the more deplorable. They are all earnest in prayer, and so given to bodily austerities as to need the bridle rather than the spur.

"Twenty of their number have this year made the Spiritual Exercises, withdrawing for a few days from the company of their companions, to take an account of their

[1] In *Evelyn's Memoirs* we find some remarks as to the English Society of Rome at the time, when he was brought into contact with it. This Society had two centres, so to speak, two poles of attraction: one was the English College, near Piazza Farnese, then directed by English Jesuits; the other was Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who, as Evelyn puts it, styled himself "the Protector of the English," to whom he was indeed very courteous.

The Jesuits were very hospitable to Evelyn, and on various occasions entertained him and Milton to dinner (*J. Evelyn's Visit to Rome in* 1644–5, D. Sesoroni Roma, 1899).

past lives, and to meditate on the life and example of Christ, as the model they are to copy in their future conduct. They further seek out diverse methods of progressing in virtue, of overcoming, for instance, the desire of esteem and of making advance in humility. As prudent wrestlers they seek by the practice of self-conquest in private, to fit themselves to encounter one day the implacable hatred of the heretics, and thus more easily withstand their assaults and their cruelty; in their self-imposed austerities having in view the tortures that await them should they chance to fall into the hands of those who are thirsting for their blood. They ever bear in mind that they are a remnant snatched from the ruin of their country, and gathered together here by a special favour of Divine Providence to fit themselves by virtue and learning to free England from the yoke of heresy, even though the sword of the foe bar their path, and their own life blood be the price they have to pay for ransoming souls from the dark captivity of falsehood and error. This is the constant topic of their domestic exhortations and sermons, as well as of their private conversation." [1]

One thing that strikes the reader in turning over the pages of the College Diary is the number of the students of the College who either succumbed to the climate or had to seek elsewhere for health, which made longer residence in Rome impossible. It has already been pointed out that Pope Gregory XIII fully recognised this, and in his generosity sought a remedy by providing some place outside the city for fresh air for the students; and so pressing did he consider the need that he set aside one of the papal villas for the purpose until he could procure some property adapted for a country house for the students. This he quickly did, and there are numerous notices of days spent in the vineyards, which had been purchased outside the walls of Rome, in order to give to the English students the recreation and exercise necessary for keeping them in health in a foreign climate.

A notice of one of these places on the Palatine, which at one time belonged to the English College, appears in a work published in London in 1840. It is interesting to reproduce it here. "Among other strange vicissitudes which have

[1] Foley, *Records*, vi. p. 81.

been witnessed by these now silent halls and roofless temples, amid which we stand (*i. e.* on the Palatine), not the least interesting is the fact that the splendid palace of the Cæsar, who despoiled Caractacus and his countrymen of their humble cottages in Britain, at length became the inheritance of their exiled descendants in the sixteenth century; and the *Triclinium* of mighty Emperors was recently used as a refectory for meek and unambitious students. In the vestibule leading to the College dining-room I observed some interesting portraits, and in spite of the dust and the cobwebs which now overshadow them I was able to decypher the following names: *S. Gregorius Angliæ Apostolus; S. Thomas Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus; Jacobus Tertius Rex Angliæ, Henricus Cardinalis Eboracensis.*

"The painting, however, which more particularly attracted my attention represented, over the entrance to the chapel, a youth in the collegiate uniform holding a scroll whereon was inscribed: 'O Bone Jesu! converte Angliam: humillime supplicat collegium Anglicanum de Urbe.' But hither alas! the studious youth of Albion's isle no longer come to pray for their country's conversion. Even the comparatively modern chambers and convivial halls have become the confused store rooms of a poor gardener and his family, and the desecrated oratory is now the squalid retreat of the birds of the air and the beasts of the field." [1]

[1] *Reminiscences of Rome*, ii. p. 189, London, Jones, 1840.

At the present day the only remains of this house and garden belonging to the English College are two stone gate pillars on the road opposite the old gas works, with the rose of England and the thistle of Scotland carved on them.

Murray's *Rome* (1899, p. 92) has the following: "*Vigna del Collegio Inglese* on the S. slope of the Palatine (the *Orti Roncioni* or *Castelli* formed part of the English College territory); in it stood the Septizonium. It was entered through the Orti Roncioni (Stadium) and also from the Circus Maximus through a house on the Via de' Cerchi. The semicircular entrance to the Vigna from the C.M. is or was lately still standing and I *think* there are roses and thistles on it."

"The Vigna del Collegio Inglese with the Palace of Severus was bought in 1857 by Pius IX" (Murray, 1899, p. 92).

Mgr. Prior says that about ten years ago the last portion of the Vigna was sold for the Passegiata Archæologica and that names of English College students of the eighteenth century were to be seen on the walls of an adjoining tower, since destroyed.

CHAPTER X

THE "PILGRIM BOOK"

When Pope Gregory XIII erected the English College in 1578, he incorporated with his new foundation the old Hospice of the Holy Trinity, St. Thomas and St. Edmund. This ancient Institution had, as has been pointed out, long been the centre of English life in the Eternal City, and the place to which travellers from the British Isles naturally found their way for counsel and aid. By the old constitutions of its establishment poor people had a right to claim food and lodging for a limited period of eight days which in practice was often extended; and even the rich had quarters in which they could claim to stay for a term of three days if they so wished. Beyond this the authorities were very frequently called upon to give substantial help in money and clothes, and even to arrange for the lodging of poor pilgrims when for some reason they could not be accommodated in the Hospice itself.

Some of the information to be gathered from the early Registers still existing in the College archives as to the reception of travellers, etc., at the old Hospice has been already given. After its incorporation with Pope Gregory XIII's new foundation, although the obligation to receive and succour English travellers and poor pilgrims is not specially mentioned in the papal bull, from the first it was understood that the duty, incumbent upon the authorities of the College, existed, and it was faithfully complied with. In fact, and for nearly a hundred years from the erection of the College, the Rectors kept a detailed list of all those who had applied to them for help, or had been received into the part of the building still reserved for the use of the pilgrims. The interesting and precious volume, known

as the *Pilgrim Book*,[1] contains the systematic entries made as to the visitors entertained from 1580 to 1656, and it is certain that some such register was kept subsequently, as one other small book records those from 1733 to 1768. The average yearly number of pilgrims was apparently between thirty and forty, although in 1585 no fewer than sixty-nine were entertained by the College. This number, although considerable, was by no means so large as in the early part of the sixteenth century, when of course England was wholly Catholic, and pilgrims to the Holy Shrines of Rome were more numerous. Thus, in 1506 we find the record of 202 persons lodged or assisted out of the funds of the old Hospice, and of these 147 were poor pilgrims. Again in 1507 over two hundred, of whom two-thirds were poor, including twenty Welsh strangers, were entertained.

In the volume above referred to, and known as the *Pilgrim Book* proper, are to be found many interesting names of visitors to Rome in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. This important record has been printed in the volume of the Jesuit Records, which deals with the English College,[2] and Brother Foley, S.J., the editor, has given many interesting particulars regarding some of the persons whose names are entered in the register. Some of these may well be referred to in this story of the College, and some additions may be made of names, which are worth noting, but which the editor does not specially mention.

"The entries," writes the editor, "display a very large number of visitors of every rank and condition. Thus we find the first entry in the book: 1580, December 29. The illustrious Dom Thomas Arundel, an Englishman of the Diocese of . . . was this day admitted as the first guest, and remained with us for three days." This was the celebrated Sir Thomas Arundell . . . surnamed the "Valliant," who distinguished himself by his daring bravery at the battle of Gran, when he took with his own hands the famous standard of Mahomet, and was created a Count of the

[1] English College, *Archives*, MS. 282.
[2] Vol. vi. (supplemental volume).

Holy Roman Empire in 1595, and first Baron Arundell of Wardour in 1605. At the date of his visit to the English Hospice, he was a youth travelling in Italy and other parts.

"We also meet with the Duke of Buckingham and his suite; the Earls of Carnarvon, Devon, Bolingbroke and his son, Lords St. John, Banbury, Stanhope, etc., the Lords Berkeley, Petre (John), Paget, Compton, Kensington, Mowbray, Sherwood, Howard, Stafford (brother to the Earl of Arundel), Hamilton, Herbert (John), son of the Earl of Pembroke; Plantagenet (Henry), eldest (only) son of Edward, the second Marquis of Worcester, regarding whom a note is appended: '1649, December 20. This most noble pilgrim came to us, and remained until February the 14th following, affording a remarkable example to all the College from his habit of constant prayer, spiritual conversation and humility. On leaving us he thought of proceeding to Jerusalem.'

"The name of the Crown Prince of Tunis also occurs. He is stated to have fled away to Rome to be instructed in the Catholic religion. The Hospice received likewise many of the old Catholic families: *e. g.* Pole (Sir Geoffrey Pole with his boy an exile), Paston, Consfield, Fortescue, Yelverton, Shireburn, Walpole, Bedingfield, Gage, Digby, etc., not to omit the son of the Protestant Bishop of Chichester; a brother of the Secretary of the First Lord of the Treasury; and a son of the Secretary of State. Perhaps the most remarkable of the visitors to the Hospice were the two poets, John Milton and Richard Crashaw.

"Milton, on October 30, 1638, became a guest and, with the Hon. Mr. Carey, brother of Lord Falkland, Dr. Holling of Lancashire and Mr. Fortescue, 'English Gentlemen,' dined with the Jesuit Fathers and students in the College refectory. Milton was then making his travels in Italy, which he commenced in 1637, upon the death of his mother."

Richard Crashaw, after being expelled from Cambridge, for refusing to sign "The Solemn League and Covenant," became a Catholic. He received letters of recommendation to Italy from Queen Henrietta Maria of England, then an exile in Paris. On his arrival at Rome in the pilgrim's

habit, he went to the Hospice, and the following entry is in the *Pilgrim Book*: "Richard Crashaw, a pilgrim, arrived November 28, 1646 and remained fifteen days in the English Hospice." Among the names in this register of pilgrims are many of those who had suffered, or were to suffer for their religion. They came to Rome after enduring prison, and, when banished from their native country, in order to renew their fervour by visiting the sacred places of the Eternal City. Youths intended for the College frequently remained for a time in the Hospice, until provision had been made for their beginning their scholastic course, or permission had been obtained to place them upon the Foundation, a matter which depended upon the Cardinal Protector. Very frequently, indeed, guests outstayed the lawful period, and it was sometimes impossible to lodge all of them in the Hospice buildings. In this latter case the poor strangers had their food in the house; but their lodging was found for them in a neighbouring place, which very frequently was a house called the "White Cross," in the Piazza Farnese.

To take a few more examples of the interesting visitors who came to the College in the first two centuries of its existence: in the first year, namely 1581, a special record was kept. Among the six-and-thirty people entertained, besides Sir Thomas Arundell already noticed, was "the illustrious Earl of Westmoreland—with three servants." This was the last of the Nevilles, attainted for the northern rebellion in 1569. On November 14, Sir Thomas Vavasour of Hazlewood was a guest and remained eight days. This was probably the famous Catholic knight who raised forces and equipped vessels to defend Queen Elizabeth against the Spanish Armada. It is said that for his zeal the Queen extended her protection to his chapel and would not suffer the family to be molested in the exercise of their religion. The following year "Sir Geoffrey Pole with his son and servant were received in the Hospice for ten days." He was probably the son of the Countess of Salisbury and brother of the Cardinal, who with his other brother, Lord Montague, was condemned to death together with their mother. Sir Geoffrey falling sick was reprieved, but all his estates were

confiscated. One of his children—we like to think it was the boy named in the *Pilgrim Book*—once, by a threat of instant death, forced a priest-hunter, who was in search of him, to eat his own warrant and vow never again to molest Catholics.

In 1583 several priests, afterwards martyrs in England for the Faith, visited the Hospice, and at the same time—that is in April—a notorious Government spy called James Young found his way into the College. At first it is clear that the authorities with charitable intent were too ready to welcome all English strangers who sought admission to the Hospice. Later on, however, it was specially ordered that, whatever charity they might extend to the poor, no one was to become a guest without producing letters of introduction from some known person. In the September of the same year, 1583, we find that one Stephen Brinckley was a guest for ten days. This was the friend of Father Parsons, who subsequently became a printer of his books at Rouen. He had just been liberated from imprisonment in the Tower of London, where he had for his companion one William Carter. They are entered in a list, in March 1583, of "Tower prisoners to pay their own dyete" as: "Stephen Brinckley and William Carter, printers and disseminators of Catholic books." Carter was executed at Tyburn for his religion January 11, 1584. Our Stephen Brinckley before his imprisonment had helped Father Parsons to set up a private press at a house near Green Street, East Ham, Essex, but it had soon to be broken up, and removed elsewhere. In June 1583 Brinckley was set free and came to Rome with Father Parsons. After this he retired to Rouen and took the place of George Flinton the former Catholic printer there, who died at this time.

The following year the name of Richard Verstigen, the well-known author of *The Restitution of Decayed Intelligences*, catches the eye in the list of guests received. In 1585 and 1586 several of the seventy-two priests who had been exiled for their religion in the former year found their way to Rome. One of them was Edmund Sykes of Yorkshire, who on his return to England was again captured, and died for the Catholic faith at York, March 23, 1587. Another

was Eustasius White, who also received the martyr's crown in 1591; and a third was Robert Morton, who was afterwards hanged in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1598. In 1598 some of the guests remained for much longer than the statutes allowed; one was entertained for forty-eight days, another for fifty-eight and another for seventy-two. This breach of the regulations was constantly being condemned, since the charity of the superiors seemed to know no bounds, and frequently landed them into debt.

It would be interesting to have more particulars of some of the travellers than we can glean from the notes given in the *Pilgrim Book*. For instance, who was the musician described as a priest of Herefordshire? He was named William Davis, and came on November 29, 1600, and was immediately appointed Prefect of the Choir. Who, again, was Mr. Winter of Worcestershire, who came in 1601 and stayed thirteen days? He was probably Robert Winter, or Wintour, who suffered death on account of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605; but it would be satisfactory to know whether this is so; and, if so, whether he gave the spelling of his name as Winter and not Wintour. Only once is his name spelled by himself Winter. The Government plotter always used that form, but Wintour himself never, except in the one document of his supposed confession, to which is appended the signature " Winter " in place of his habitual " Wintour."

On the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Patron of the College and Hospice, it was and is the custom to invite the English residents in Rome to dinner. Sometimes there were forty or more guests on the occasion. For instance, in 1629 there is this entry on December 29: " To-day all the English in Rome were received to dinner, among whom were about eight noble laymen, four of whom (then Protestants) were shortly afterwards admitted to the College for the sake of conversion." At one of these feasts, as we have already noted, Evelyn was a guest.

In 1635 there is the following record: " Petty, Mr., December 12th. Being sent to Italy by the King and the Earl of Arundel, to search for ancient documents, dined in the Refectory with Mr. Knowles." The Earl of Arundel

referred to here must have been Henry Howard, fourth Earl, and he was then engaged in adding to the wonderful collection of MSS. formed by his father the sixth Duke of Norfolk. He gave a portion of the collection to the College of Arms, and others, at the suggestion of Evelyn, to the Royal Society, which subsequently sold them to the British Museum, where the collection is known as "The Arundel Manuscripts." It is very interesting to find the English Hospice connected with the antiquarian employed to gather these MSS. treasures for the Earl of Arundel, and to enrich the Royal collection of King James I.

The following year, 1636, three distinguished Englishmen were entertained at dinner on October 5. The first was Sir George Ent, called in the *Pilgrim Book*, Entie, the physician, who, after studying at Cambridge, spent five years at Padua, where he graduated M.D., April 28, 1636, and who later became one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society. With him at the English College was Sir William Greaves—(Graves in the *Pilgrim Book*)—the astronomer and Orientalist, who had been a fellow-student with Ent at Padua, and the more celebrated Dr. William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who is described in the Register as "M.D. to the King of England." All three were life-long friends. Dryden has commemorated the friendship of Harvey and Ent; and Harvey by his will left Ent five pounds to buy a mourning ring.

In 1637, on the 1st of April, there is the following entry as to a visit from the well-known writer of the account of the state of Catholics in England at this time: "Panzani, Gregory, Dom, returning from England, whither he had been sent by Cardinal Barberini, was invited to the College, and politely accepted it." On October 26, the following year, John Milton, the poet, was a guest of the College. His friend in Rome was Lucas Holstenius, who had been at Oxford and London, and who, after being converted to the Catholic faith, became secretary to Cardinal Barberini when Papal Nuncio at Paris, and came with him to Rome in 1627. On March 30, 1639, five months after his arrival in Rome, Milton wrote to Holstenius about the kindness

shown him by Cardinal Barberini, "who gave a public musical entertainment with truly Roman magnificence, he himself waiting at the doors, and seeking me out in so great a crowd, nay almost laying hold of me by the hand, admitted me within in a truly most honourable manner."

Particular instances of the interesting and important English visitors to the College to be found in the *Pilgrim Book* could be multiplied to almost any extent. The above, however, are sufficient to show how, even after the severance of England from Rome in the sixteenth century, the English College and its Hospice continued to be the centre of national life in the Eternal City. It was regarded as the natural place to which all travellers from the British Isles found their way.

A later book contains notes of visitors from 1733 to 1771. The records in it are not so well kept as previously, and in fact there is a note therein to say that there had been great carelessness in keeping up the entries; but it is obvious that the same abundant charity was dispensed by the authorities as in earlier times. In these years a great number of people sought for help after having come to the *Convertendi* to be instructed in the Catholic religion and after their reception into the Church. The practice is also seen to have been kept up of sending poor people, who could not be actually received into the Hospice, to lodge in the "White Cross," in the Piazza Farnese.

With regard to the guests received at the old Hospice, a manuscript, still in the College archives, records the gratitude of one such in the fifteenth century. This MS. is a volume containing the poetical works of John Lydgate, and at the end of it there is written: "This ys Richard Turnbyll is boke, record of Mr. Carne (?) and Mary More of the hospitalitie in Rome. Wryten the first day of marriage." Bound up with these poems is a long tract upon animals and hunting dedicated to Prince Henry, son of King Henry IV, afterwards King Henry V.

One of the last of the English to be buried in the College was the young daughter of Henry Swinburne, whose epitaph is still seen in the church. This is printed in full by Hare (*Walks in Rome*, ii. p. 167), but there is some mistake about

the date of her father's birth, as given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. According to the inscription, composed in English by "disconsolate parent," this young lady must have been a very extraordinary person. Her name was Martha, and she was born October 10, 1758, and died in Rome September 8, 1767, or, as the brief Latin inscription says, 1768; which would make her nine or ten years old. Still, as the inscription has it: "Her years were few, but her life was long and full. She spoke English, French and Italian and had made some progress in the Latin tongue; she knew English and Roman histories, arithmetic and geography; sang the most difficult music at sight with one of the finest voices in the world, was a great proficient on the harpsichord, wrote well and danced many sorts of dances with strength and elegance," etc.[1]

[1] His Lordship the Bishop of Clifton on this writes: "I only lately discovered, whilst reading the greatest authority on Latin epigraphy, Morcelli (*De stilo inscriptionum Latinarum*, Rome, 1780, p. 414), that he himself, at the request of Giovanni Senetti, the little girl's tutor, had composed for her a Latin epitaph in iambic verse, containing much the same matter as the English one, but of course a much finer composition. We learn from it that her mother's name was Baker, and a Thomas Gascoigne is introduced as companion of the family's travels." The difficulty of reconciling the dates of the inscription with those given in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography* cannot be got over. Henry Swinburne is there said to have been born in 1743 and to have married, as his second wife, Martha Baker, on March 24, 1767. It would be consequently impossible for him to have a daughter born in 1758. But the date of his birth is certainly wrong, as he is said to have married his first wife in 1721. He must have married his second wife and the mother of the prodigy buried in the English College Church in 1757, and not in 1767 as the Dictionary states. Sir Thomas Gascoigne was the travelling companion of the family from 1776.

CHAPTER XI

DESTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

In 1798 the English College practically ceased to exist, and it remained desolate and empty for some twenty years. The previous year Pope Pius VI was compelled by Napoleon, at the Peace of Tolentino, to surrender Avignon, Ferrara, Bologna and the Romagna. In an attempt to revolutionise Rome, the French General Dupont was shot at and killed, whereupon the French took Rome on February 10, 1798, and proclaimed the Roman Republic. Because the Pope refused to submit, he was forcibly taken from Rome in the night of February 20 and carried off to Florence. There he remained for a year, when he became seriously ill, and in this state was hurried over the Alps to Valence, where he died before he could be removed further. His successor was elected at Venice in the person of Cardinal Chiaramonte, and crowned Supreme Pontiff on March 21, 1800, under the name of Pius VII. The new Pope managed to return to Rome on July 3 of the same year.

For the next eight years the life of the Holy Father in the Eternal City was one of extreme difficulty, and he was unable to reorganise the ecclesiastical establishments of the Eternal City which had suffered under the French republican régime. So the English national College amongst others remained closed.

On March 16, 1808, Cardinal Cassoni, Secretary of State, published at Rome the following notice: "His Holiness Pius VII, being unable to conform to all the demands made on him by the French Government . . . as they are contrary to his sacred duties and the dictates of his conscience; and being thus compelled to submit to the disastrous consequences which have been threatened and to the military occupation of his capital in case he should not submit to such demands . . . places his cause in the hands of the

Almighty, etc." Accordingly the same day General Miollis took possession of Rome at the head of 5000 or 6000 French troops and located some 30,000 men throughout the Pontifical States.

A year later on May 17, 1809, a decree was published annexing all the Papal States and the city of Rome itself to the French Empire; the change of Government being formally proclaimed in Rome on June 10.[1] One of the main causes of the Holy Father's troubles was his refusal, at Napoleon's demand, to shut his ports against English ships and to exile all the English resident in Rome, and so the English generally, and the English College in particular, were made to feel the effect of the Emperor's anger. One of the first acts of the Republican authorities in Rome was directed against this National Institution. A commissary was appointed, and he forthwith closed the College, and proceeded to deal with the property. The Abbey of Saviano at Piacenza, which had been given by the Pope for the support of the establishment, was sold for 150,000 scudi and the money confiscated; the College itself was sacked[2] and part of the property sold or otherwise disposed of. The archives, however, were saved through the action of a faithful friend who carried them off and hid them. When better days returned and the establishment was once more opened to the English students, the precious documents were restored, and long afterwards the family of this faithful friend received from the College a pension as a small reward for his service in this matter. Meanwhile the Italian Superiors had been sent away, and the English students, who were then only sixteen in number, were at the same time dispatched to England. The buildings of the College after this were used first as barracks for the French soldiers, then as General Quarters for Murat's troops, and later as a place for the local police, and they were utilised for similar public purposes and offices until the return of the Pope from his captivity in France in 1814.

His Lordship the Bishop of Clifton sends me the

[1] Cf. Ward's *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, i. p. 223.

[2] Fr. John Connolly, O.P. (afterwards second Bishop of New York), wrote to Bishop Plunkett of Meath in March 1798, saying: "The French have seized on and sold everything belonging to the English and Scots Colleges here" (quoted by Fr. Nolan, *The Basilica of S. Clemente*, p. 130).

following interesting extract from a Diary he kept when he was in the Venerabile in 1886. It contains many particulars about the inscriptions, etc., saved from the ruins of the old church of the College when the English again obtained possession of the buildings, or what remained of them.

"Three-quarters of an hour interesting converse with the Rector in the new church.

"*Inscriptions, etc.*—These were mostly smashed during the French occupation, when the College became a barracks. During the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy, when the College became a Court of Law, Prince Aldobrandini carried off the greater part of the fragmentary marbles that lay about.

"Cardinal Wiseman collected what relics of interest survived, and stored them in what is now the Reception room.

"Mgr. O'Callaghan rescued part of an inscription or so from the Aldobrandini Villa on the Quirinal.

"A copy of the Inscriptions had been made by one of the old generation of students, Mr. Kirk [1] (of Lichfield); of this copy he made a transcript and sent it to our Rector. Mr. Kirk was then a very old man. From this and with the aid of documents in the Vatican, the Rector reproduced the inscriptions as they are now seen in the church.

"*Bodies.*—These were exhumed by some predecessor of the Rector, when the foundations of the present church (some twenty feet deep) were dug. They are now kept in two loculi in the Crypt, just beneath the Dereham monument, and over them is the leaden coffin of Sir Thos. Dereham himself."

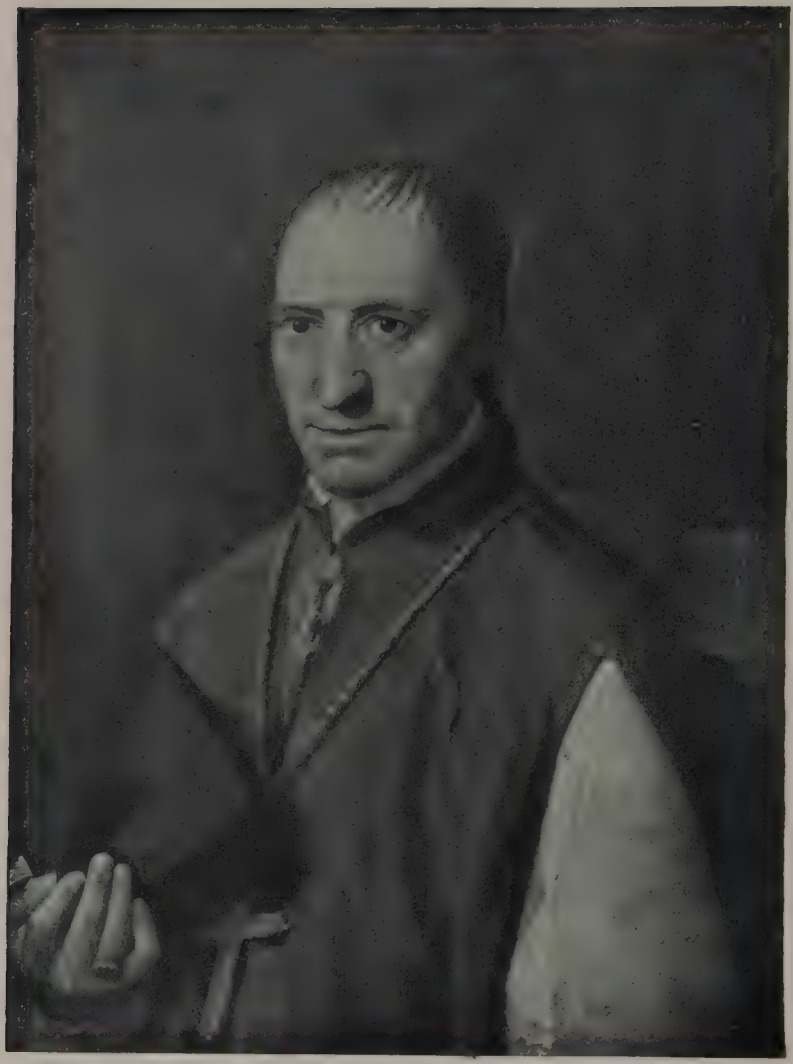
About the year 1821, Dr. Gradwell gave the following account of his work for the restoration of the College, of which he became Rector in March 1818: "One of the first cares of the Supreme Pontiff after his return to Rome was to restore the Institutions that had been suppressed or taken from their pious uses during the days of anarchy. The English Prelates, when congratulating the Holy Father

[1] John Kirk of Salop was born in 1760 and came to the College in 1773, being actually the last scholar received by the Jesuit Superiors just before they handed over the government to secular priests, after having governed it for the long period of 193 years.

on his liberation and return, recommended to his paternal heart the re-establishment of the English College under the government of national Superiors.

"The Pope gave them a favourable reply, and commissioned the Cardinal Protector, Braschi, to write a report on the matter, and Cardinal Litta, Prefect of Propaganda, to communicate with the English Bishops."

There were still difficulties, the nature of which appears in a letter written to Cardinal Consalvi from London on November 13, 1811. Sir John Coxe Hippisley thus speaks of the National Colleges in Rome: "Allow me, *mon cher ami*, to tell you, with my usual frankness, what I think about the affairs of our national Colleges. Your Eminence knows well that I have for many years been occupied in requests about these. I received from the late Venerable Pontiff, the most solemn promises that the restoration of the same government which subsisted in the times of the Jesuits, should not again be established. I find at present that though national Superiors are to be appointed, these are for education only, and others are to take charge of the temporalities of these colleges. You know very well, *mon cher ami*, that this was not so in the time of the English Jesuits, and I doubt whether it would be possible to find any respectable persons to take charge of the education of the scholars, under these conditions. The nomination of an Italian Procurator would become absolutely useless. . . . The Procurator would probably absorb the pension of four students. The auditor of the Cardinal Protector of each college is a sufficient check upon the administration of the national Superiors. Allow me to say that this Imperium in Imperio would be most disadvantageous and odious. If I could have foreseen this I would have spared myself many years of trouble; pardon me if I say confidentially to you that I am astonished that any Cardinal Protector could desire for the appointment of such a Procurator to place himself in opposition to the united wishes of all the clergy of the three kingdoms, and try to impose his view upon the paternal soul of His Holiness, by annulling the true spirit of the promises, which his worthy Predecessor made me, and which I have often cited to our Government, as a proof of the noble sentiments of yours."



Bishop Gradwell

[*To face p.* 207

Bishop Ward writes that a scheme was at this time put forward "that Milner (who was at this time in Rome) should become Rector of the English College, which it was hoped soon to re-open. Cardinal Braschi was still the 'Protector.' He had for many years been paralysed in his lower limbs, and was unable to take much active share in business. The project of re-opening the College in fact emanated from Cardinal Litta."[1] But Dr. Gradwell, who had the best possible means of knowing the facts, considered that the project had come from the English Bishops and the Holy Father himself. Dr. Milner had apparently no wish to take the office of Rector, and suggested to the Roman authorities the name of the Rev. Stephen Green, and Dr. Poynter, who was consulted, proposed the Rev. William Wilds of Warwick Street, or the Rev. John Lingard.

Propaganda asked for special information about the Rev. Stephen Green, then missionary at Greenwich, but his failing health made his appointment as Rector of the English College in Rome impossible, and in fact he died shortly after his name had been suggested by Dr. Milner, a "martyr of charity." Cardinal Litta's letter on the subject is dated July 13, 1814; but nothing was concluded until in April 1817 the Protector, Cardinal Braschi, died, and the jurisdiction of Cardinal Galeffi, a relation of Braschi whom the Pope had appointed to act during his illness, came to an end.

In 1817, however, the Pope told Cardinal Consalvi to write at once to the English Bishops, bidding them make choice of some priests, who had their full confidence, to take the post of Rector of the English College. They chose the Rev. Robert Gradwell, who started for Rome in September, and reached the Eternal City after a perilous journey only on November 3, 1817. He temporarily took up his lodging at the Scots' College. At first there were rumours that the Jesuits desired once more to return to the Government of the Venerabile, and Dr. Gradwell evidently believed that there was truth in the reports. But the Pope assured him that no petition to that effect had been received, and he was quickly assured that he would be nominated at once

[1] *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, ii. p. 112.

and be given possession of the establishment, and in fact on March 8, 1818, he received from the Cardinal Secretary of State the Biglietto of his nomination.

"The building," says Dr. Gradwell, "was empty, and only bare walls were left standing. The financial state of the College was in great confusion and only 3000 scudi were left in the bank, which was promptly invested." More than a year's income of the College had at once to be spent on restoration and necessary repairs, and the first care of the new Rector was to secure the payment of back rents, to let the houses belonging to the College to the best advantage, to diminish all useless and unnecessary expenses and to furnish the College as far as was necessary.

The Rector had many difficulties to contend with at first. The Italian officials who had been administering the College property previously—the *esattore* or rent collector and the *computista* or accountant—resented the appointment of an Englishman and placed many obstacles in his way. "They retained the administration of the finances and even claimed the right of controlling the domestic arrangements, so that on one day the Rector returning home found that the cook had been dismissed and there was no one to prepare his dinner. He hesitated whether to be angry or amused. He had of course to appeal to Cardinal Consalvi, and Sir John Coxe Hippisley also wrote, and matters were adjusted by the handing over the financial administration to the Rector." [1]

To commemorate this new foundation a memorial tablet was erected in the College.

MEMORIÆ
PII VII PONT. MAX.
QUOD COLLEGIUM ANGLORUM
A GREGORIO XIII, P.M.
PRIMITUS CONSTITUTUM
URBE AUTEM A GALLIS OCCUPATA
ANTE AN. XX DISSOLUTUM
ANNO MD.CCCXVIII RESTITUERIT
EIDEMQUE AD VOTUM NATIONIS EIUSDEM
RECTOREM DE CLERO IPSIUS PRÆFECERIT
HERCULE CONSALVO, S.E.R. CARD. COLLEGIO PATRONO
ANGLIÆ EPISCOPI ET CLERUS
GRATI ANIMI CAUSA.

[1] Bishop Ward, *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, iii. p. 8.

Cardinal Consalvi, after practically filling the office for two years, became Protector of the College in 1819. His *deputati*, or official counsellors of the Protector, according to the law visited the College at frequent intervals, and interfered considerably during the first years until, through Dr. Poynter, Cardinal Consalvi arranged matters more satisfactorily. At this time the net revenue of the establishment was 7486 scudi or thereabouts.

Cardinal Consalvi took a practical interest in the College. In spite of his overwhelming work as Secretary of State at this period of reconstruction, he found time to superintend the framing the Constitutions, by which the re-established Pontifical College was to be governed, and in the first years when he held the office of Cardinal Protector, he attended the regular monthly meetings of the authorities and *deputati*, at which the most minute details were discussed and settled, and his signature may still be seen in the Minute Book authenticating the proceedings.

One of the first acts of Dr. Gradwell after his instalment was to write to the English Bishops begging them to send out students. It was agreed that all who came out should be sufficiently advanced to enter the philosophical course, and it was determined that no tuition should be undertaken in the house itself, but that all should attend the lectures at the Roman College, now known as the Gregorian University. In this determination of Cardinal Consalvi there was a return to the original Constitution of the College by its founder, Pope Gregory XIII. The Vicars-Apostolic, with the exception of Dr. Milner, all entered heartily into the scheme, and in December 1818 ten students were dispatched from England, five from the Northern District, four from London and one from the West.

Among the five from the North was Nicholas Wiseman, a student of Ushaw, the future Cardinal whose name and fame will ever be associated with the Venerabile. In the English College archives is the letter to introduce young Wiseman, written by the Rev. G. Brown, secretary to Bishop Gibson. After a few words about another of the band of students, Mr. Henry Gillow, a member of the well-known Lancashire family, he writes: "that Nicholas Wiseman is another fixed upon to accompany him, if his

health will permit, or to follow as soon as he can travel. This young man may truly be pronounced above all praise. His talents are unrivalled in Ushaw College, his piety is fervent and solid, and his character as a Christian scholar quite without fault. He is of a good family, and though quite independent in his circumstances, has voluntarily devoted himself to the English Mission. . . . When they have become a little accustomed to the Roman schools, I think Mr. Wiseman will not fear to enter the lists with any Italian that can stand forth against him." [1]

The students set out on October 2, 1818, from Liverpool in a ship bound for Leghorn. Cardinal Wiseman in his *Recollections of the Last Four Popes* has given a brief account of this protracted and at times dangerous voyage which extended over several weeks. The ship was expected to reach its Italian port in November, and the Rector of the College, Dr. Gradwell, who desired to introduce his first students to Italy, was waiting for them impatiently at Leghorn. After vainly expecting them for several weeks, business recalled him to Rome, and it was not till the middle of December that the news of their safe arrival was received. On the 18th of the month the first party arrived, followed the next day by the rest of the ten.

Cardinal Wiseman has described his first impression of the College. "One felt at once at home," he wrote, "it was English ground, a part of the fatherland, a restored inheritance." [2] The spacious buildings struck the imagination of the new-comers, and "the library with its books piled up in disorder, and the whole house bore evidence of not having been inhabited for nearly the space of a generation. The old Church of the Holy Trinity, which had formed part of the ancient Hospice, out of which the College had been formed, was still standing, though its roof was gone. The old altarpiece, a painting by Durante Alberti, representing the Holy Trinity and the two patrons of the College, St. Edmund the King and Martyr and St. Thomas of Canterbury, still occupied its place among the surrounding desolation. The College church had been 'illumi-

[1] Bishop Ward, *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, iii. p. 11.
[2] W. Ward, *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, i. p. 15.

nated from floor to roof with the Saints of England.' It was something to see, that first day, a spot revisited by English youths, where many an English pilgrim, gentle or simple, had knelt leaning on his trusty staff cut in Needwood or the New Forest; where many a noble student from Bologna or Padua had prayed as he had been lodged and fed *in forma pauperis*, when before returning home he came to visit the tomb of the Apostles. . . . Around lay scattered memorials of the past. One splendid monument erected to Sir Thomas Dereham, at the bottom of the church, was entirely walled up and so invisible. There were traces, too, of the havoc wrought by the French invaders of '98. Shattered and defaced lay the richly effigied tombs of an Archbishop of York and a Prior of Worcester, and of many other English worthies; while sadder wreckage of the recent storm was piled up on one side—the skull and bones of perhaps Cardinal Allen, Father Parsons and others whose coffins had been dragged up from below and converted into munitions of war. And if there needed a living link between the young generation at the door and the old one that had passed into the crypt of that venerable church, there it was in the person of the more than octogenarian porter Vincenzo, who stood, all salutation from the wagging appendage to his grey head to the large silver buckles on his shoes, mumbling toothless welcomes in an as yet almost unknown tongue, but full of humble joy and almost patriarchal affection on seeing the haunts of his own youth repeopled." [1]

No attempt was made to repair the ruined church of the College for obvious reasons, the chief of which was the want of means; but the old Sodality chapel afforded ample accommodation for the students, and was already prepared for their use on their arrival. In 1847 Cardinal Wiseman wrote of this spot so sacred to his memory from the beginning of his scholastic course in Rome: "The first altar at which I knelt in the Holy City was that of our glorious St. Thomas of Canterbury. There I returned thanks for the great blessing of being admitted among his children. For two-and-twenty years I daily knelt before the lively

[1] W. Ward, *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, i. p. 16.

representation of the bread of life. . . . He was my pattern, my father, my model. Daily have I prayed him and do pray him to give me his spirit of fortitude, to fight the battles of the Church, if necessary, to the shedding of blood." [1]

A few days after their arrival in Rome, the new students were taken by the Rector, Dr. Gradwell, to have an audience with the Pope Pius VII. It was the Eve of Christmas and the Rector made the following note in the College Diary: "December 24. Took six students to the Pope. The other four could not be clothed. The Holy Father received them standing, shook hands with each, and welcomed them to Rome. He praised the English clergy for their good and peaceful conduct, and their fidelity to the Holy See. He exhorted the youth to learning and piety, and said: 'I hope you will do honour both to Rome and to your country.'"

It is interesting to record the impression made on Cardinal Wiseman by this memorable visit. "It will easily be conceived," he writes in his *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, "that our hearts beat with more than usual speed . . . as we ascended the great staircase of the Quirinal Palace on Christmas Eve. . . . After passing through the magnificent *sala regia* you proceed through a series of galleries adorned with fine old tapestry and other works of art, though furnished with the greatest simplicity. The last of these was the antechamber to the room occupied by the Pope. After a short delay we were summoned to enter this—a room so small that it scarcely allowed space for the usual genuflections at the door and in the middle of the apartment. But instead of receiving us as was customary—seated—the mild and amiable Pontiff had risen to welcome us and meet us as we approached. He did not allow it to be a mere presentation or visit of ceremony. . . . Whatever we had read of his gentleness, condescension and sweetness of his speech, his manner and his expression was fully justified, realised and made personal. . . . The friendly and almost national grasp of the hand . . . after due homage had been willingly paid . . . between

[1] W. Ward, *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, i. p. 45.

THE COLLEGE STAIRCASE

[*To face p.* 213.

the Head of the Church, venerable for his hoary age and a youth who had nothing even to promise; . . . the first exhortation on entering a course of ecclesiastical study; these surely formed a double tie, not to be broken but rather strengthened by every subsequent experience."

Immediately after this visit to the Pope, on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the formal inauguration of the College was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. Nine Cardinals, including Cardinals Litta, Somaglia, Gregorio Doria, etc., were present at a High Mass, which was sung by the Pope's own choir. "The altar furniture was lent from the Corsini Chapel at St. John Lateran," and many English-speaking visitors were present.

Bishop Ward[1] gives an excellent account of the first beginnings of the College from the time of the arrival of the students at the end of 1818. From this a long quotation may here be permitted. "During the first few weeks, the interest and excitement of their new life, and the sight-seeing in the Eternal City, provided occupation and interest for the new students. After a few months, the Rev. Robert Varley, formerly Prefect at St. Edmund's, arrived to fill the post of Vice-Rector; but his health giving way, he was supplanted by the Rev. William White, from the Northern District.

"As time went on the monotony of the life asserted itself, and the students grew discontented. They resented their daily walks to and from lectures, to which in former times the students had not been subjected, contending that in the heat of summer it was a trial to their health, and called out for tuition within the College. They likewise felt aggrieved at having to walk out in 'Camerata,' as it is called in Rome, although this was only insisted upon in a modified form, complained also 'of various restrictions incidental to a college in a city.' 'They would wish to have the privilege of strolling two and two in the Metropolis,' Gradwell writes, 'as they would in the lanes and fields at Ushaw and Old Hall. This is impossible . . . it is quite contrary to all ideas of propriety at Rome, and for reasons not very obvious, perhaps, to good lads, would be

[1] *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, iii. p. 13 *seqq.*

the road to ruin. But, instead of walking out with one or two Italian priests for prefects, two of the eldest are dressed *da Abate* and they go in two bodies every afternoon, and on some days in the morning, where they will.'

"The feeling of discontent became acute and culminated in what Dr. Gradwell described as a 'mutiny' in 1820. It would seem, however, that he attached rather too much importance to it. The 'mutineers' did not proceed to greater lengths than refusing one day to go to St. Peter's in 'Camerata' and staying at home in preference. Their unwillingness to go out did not last very long, but the question of attending the Roman College for lectures was agitated more seriously, for the Rector was half-inclined to be of the same opinion as the students. To us indeed it appears that most of the advantage of a Roman training would have been lost had they ceased to attend the public lectures, and that the various evils attached to a small isolated educational establishment would have arisen. It would have ceased to be a college for higher studies, and reduced itself to the level which it was at before the Revolution.

"Such was Consalvi's feeling, and also Dr. Poynter's. The latter wrote in this sense to the Cardinal Protector, and the matter was so settled in November 1821. The students were exempted from writing 'dictates,' but continued to attend the public lectures, and entered for the 'Concorso.'

"Notwithstanding their objection to going to the public lectures, however, the English students were exceedingly successful in their work and established a reputation for the *Collegium Venerabile*, the tradition of which has never been lost. Dr. Gradwell wrote to Dr. Poynter on November 5, 1820, with pardonable pride, describing the success of his students, in the following terms:—

"'In Dogma Henry Gillow got a medal, John Kearns *laudatus amplissimis verbis*. In Moral Theology William Kavanagh got the medal. In Physico-Mathematics Wiseman and Kavanagh tied for the medal. *Proxime accessit* James Sharples. Daniel Rock *laudatus amplissimis verbis*.

In Physico-Chemistry Wiseman got the second medal. *Proxime accessit* James Sharples and Daniel Rock.

"'All Rome is astonished at the performances of our students in the *Concorso;* a parcel of lads, strangers, our divines only in their first year, and competing with forty Italians who were finishing their fourth; our philosophers moreover composing their essays in Italian, and still bearing away the prizes in a language in which they are imperfectly skilled; and most of all poor Kavanagh,[1] one of the youngest competitors, bearing away two prizes, is considered as a prodigy unexampled in the Academic history. The prize is a medal with the profile of the Pope, and on the reverse the Collegio Romano.'

"Dr. Gradwell proceeds to describe the nature of the *Concorso* or examination; which was then much what it is now:—

"'The *Concorso* is this. Before the end of the year the Cardinal Prefect of Studies either by lot or choice selects fifteen questions from the treatise under studies, and some weeks before gives notice that a *concorso* will be held on one of these fifteen questions. On the day appointed, all the students who have the courage to contend meet in their school. Each one is provided with pen, ink and paper, but without any books or notes. The particular question is then declared. Each competitor then begins a dissertation on the subject. Five hours are allowed, but no communication with any other person is permitted to the candidate. At the expiration of the five hours, each one gives up his composition to the master. The first and second best compositions win a medal; the third is *laudatus amplissimis verbis;* the rest are classed according to merit, tenth, twentieth, fortieth, etc. Any place before the tenth is reckoned a great honour.'

"In the following year the Pope, to show his appreciation of the work of the College, conferred on the Rector the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

"The summit of their success was reached three years later, when Mr. Wiseman, the future Cardinal, was chosen

[1] Mr. Kavanagh, who belonged to the Western District, died at the College on Sept. 18, 1820.

to perform a 'public act.' He had acquired a great reputation as a scholar. During his first year, when the custom was revived that an English student should preach before the Pope on St. Stephen's Day, the student chosen having begged to be excused, Mr. Wiseman supplied for him at short notice and discharged the duty with distinction. Later on he became noted for his industry in Oriental studies, and Dr. Gradwell records that he had written out a large section of the Bible in Hebrew. When it became known that he was chosen as a candidate for the highest academic distinction, his performance was looked forward to with universal interest. Dr. Gradwell writes on July 13, 1824:—

"'Mr. Wiseman's public defensions at St. Ignatius's are fixed for Wednesday next. They have excited great expectations in Rome. I am confident he will acquit himself in superior style, to the honour both of the Roman College and ours.'

"The result fulfilled the highest anticipations. Dr. Gradwell describes it in full in a further letter a week later:—

"'On Wednesday Mr. Wiseman defended at the Roman College his 400 theses of divinity. It is universally admitted that it was the most arduous, most able and most splendid defension that the Roman College had seen for many years, and has redounded very much to the honour of the Roman College as well as our own. In the morning he defended two hours and a half in the saloon against eight doctors, who successively disputed in the presence of a large concourse of professors, priests, religious and students from different Colleges and monasteries in Rome. I never before saw half the number at any former defension.

"'But the performance in the afternoon was the most splendid. It was held in the church of St. Ignatius. Cardinal Zurla sat on the throne, facing the disputant. A circle was formed extending the whole breadth of the nave. In this first circle were thirty-two prelates, among whom were twelve Patriarchs, Archbishops or Bishops in pontifical dress and about twenty doctors of divinity including the professors of the Roman College and myself, all in their

long robes. The second and third and other rows behind were miscellaneous, containing many distinguished persons, particularly ecclesiastics, but not in costume. . . . It was like a Roman Council. The Abbé Lamennius who was then in Rome was to have objected, but he excused himself, and said that in such an assembly he could not say four words.

" ' Elevated in the middle at a desk or pulpit, with the Professors Piatti and Fornari, one on each side, a step lower than the defendant, Mr. Wiseman began by reading the dedication of the thesis, which was addressed to Cardinal Zurla, and then disputed about an hour and a half against the three most celebrated Professors of Sapienza, on the Primacy of St. Peter, the necessity of Baptism and the three Witnesses, *i. e.* the integrity of the text. He spoke with a composure, a clearness, a fluency and depth which charmed everybody. After the third dispute was closed, Cardinal Zurla rose, clapped his hands and applauded. The whole assembly did the same. Several Prelates, my particular friends, and others whom I invited, among whom was the Curé de Genève, all the Professors and some of the students of the Roman College and all our own College adjourned into the saloon, where the defensions were held in the morning, to see the *laurea* conferred on the defendant. Cardinal Pacca, Prefect of Studies, had authorised by rescript the Professor of Scripture, who ranks as the first professor in the College, to confer on Mr. Wiseman the Doctorship of Divinity *extra tempus*. Mr. Wiseman knelt down at an *altarino*, made the profession of Faith of Pius IV, and swore not to teach heterodoxy, received the cap, the ring, the embrace of the Doctors and sat down Doctor of Divinity.

" ' The whole passed off with the greatest *éclat* and has given great satisfaction throughout Rome. The Professors and friends of the Roman College speak of this defension with triumph, as a proof that they know how to teach and these scholars how to learn; but with melancholy from the consideration that this, which is the first of our public triumphs, is the last of theirs. I am afflicted to hear this, and I partake of their feelings. On Thursday, the new

Doctor and I dined with Cardinal Zurla, called to thank Cardinal Pacca, Monsignori Caprano, Nicolai, Testa, the professors, etc. I never met with such cordial congratulations from all sorts of persons.'"

Dr. Gradwell in some notes written at the College, probably in the year of Wiseman's triumph in the schools, gives some statistics of the students who came in the first years to begin the Venerabile on its reopening. Ten had arrived in December 1818, as already noted; in October 1819, another joined them, another in 1821, and yet another in 1822 : in all thirteen. Of these, three, namely Henry Gillow, John Kearns and James Fleetwood, had by March 1824 finished their course, and left for the English Mission : one, John Rush, went on March 13, 1824, to become a Camaldolese Hermit : five more, Richard Alberry, Richard Crosby, Thomas Ewart, John Dakson and William Hall, had been obliged by ill-health to return to their native country.

There were in the College, when the Rector made his notes, James Sharples, Robert Platt, Daniel Rock priests, and Nicholas Wiseman acolyte, in the fourth year of theology. Mr. Eccles a deacon, in his second year, and six in the first year, namely George Heptonstall, William Turner subdeacon, Jeremy Harrington, John Maddon, Patrick Brickley, George Errington in minor orders, with John Scott still studying his humanities. Besides these there were four convictors studying their humanities, Thomas Jones, Richard Jones, William Riddell and John Errington. These, with Dr. Gradwell the Rector and Richard Gillow [1] Vice-Rector and Professor of Humanities for the Convictors, formed the members of the English College in 1824.

At the beginning of 1824 Cardinal Consalvi died. His death was a real loss to the English College; for since he had been Protector he had taken a great interest in the establishment, and had watched over its reconstruction under Dr. Gradwell, in whom he had every confidence. Four years later, the Rector was taken from Rome to become coadjutor of Dr. Bramston, Vicar-Apostolic of the London

[1] Richard Gillow had come to Rome to finish his theology on Oct. 16, 1819, and was ordained priest June 16, 1821.

District. The last great success scored by the College whilst under his direction, was the "Public Act" of George Errington, the future Archbishop. This took place on August 22, 1827, at the Apollinare. Cardinal Zurla, now the Protector of the English College, presided as he had done in the case of Wiseman, and Errington won as great a chorus of praise as the former had done.

Dr. Gradwell thus writes of the impression made at the time: "Mr. Errington," he says, "acquitted himself very well. The arguers chose very difficult points and placed their arguments in the most forcible light; especially two of the first Jesuit Professors, one contending that the Book of Judith was not a history but a μῦθος, the other detailing Michaelis's arguments against the authenticity of the Apocalypse. His answers to these as well as all the other points mooted excited the astonishment and admiration of the whole assembly, composed of Bishops, Prelates, Professors, students, etc., from every part of Rome. It did not yield to the celebrated performance of Wiseman in the Church of St. Ignatius three years ago. Several Cardinals and Prelates have since made our College the highest compliments and have told me that all Rome is indebted to us for having set such an example." [1]

The rest of Dr. Gradwell's letter relates to the visit paid by Pope Leo XII to Monte Porzio, which is still remembered with pride, and to commemorate which a marble slab was set up in the refectory. "His Holiness," writes Dr. Gradwell, "has often marked his applause by acts of kindness and condescension both to me and the students, but especially since the close of the schools last autumn. He not only said the most handsome and flattering things of the College, but determined to honour it publicly in a manner of which there is no example. When we were spending our vacation at our villa in the small town of Monte Porzio, fifteen miles out of Rome, the Pope sent me word that he would come on the 20th of October to spend the day and dine with us. I made all due preparations for receiving so distinguished a guest. At seven o'clock in the morning he set out from the palace of the Vatican with four coaches

[1] In Bishop Ward's *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, ii. p. 200.

escorted by a detachment of horse guards and arrived at the country house of the College at ten. I and Dr. Wiseman (at this time Vice-Rector of the College), at the head of the students, received His Holiness at the door, conducted him first to the chapel where he said some prayers, then to my rooms which I was proud to resign to such an illustrious visitant, and then to the large recreation room where a throne was erected. Here he took his seat, the Prelates and noble officers of his household standing on each side. I presented all the students first in a body, then one by one to receive the Pope's blessing and kiss his feet. He made them many compliments on their conduct and studies, inquired which of them had gained so many rewards and medals in the Roman schools, and exhorted them to continue to do honour both to England and to Rome. He then came down from the throne, and talked in the most familiar manner with the students. All the people of Monte Porzio, with the clergy and inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages, thronged the College door. The Pope gave them his blessing from the College window, but as the whole of the crowd could not get within sight, he very obligingly went through the crowded streets on foot, holding my hand, to the fine large Parish Church, and repeated his benediction from a balcony in the Great Square. I then presented the clergy and all the principal inhabitants, both men and women, as I had before presented the students. It was a beautiful and affecting sight; the good people, who had never had a Pope within their walls for above two hundred years, rending the air with enthusiastic applause, and crying out, *Viva il Santo Padre! Viva il Collegio Inglese!* At one o'clock dinner was announced. The Pope sat at the head of the table, his part being elevated a few inches above the rest. The prelates and students sat in two lines at the remainder of the table. The Pope made me say grace before and after dinner. As he took his seat he said: 'It is very unusual for a Pope to sit down to dinner with a company of such fine students, but to-day I have this advantage and I enjoy it.' He took soup, a little boiled and roast meat, a salad and a few glasses of wine, but did not touch

any of the fine dishes which his cook had been preparing for two days. . . . After dinner there was another large presentation. At four o'clock the Pope took leave in the most affecting manner, and returned with his suite to Rome."

Dr. Gradwell relates another example of the extreme benevolence of the Holy Father to the English College in the following year. "On Holy Saturday afternoon I was interrupted by a message from the Pope. Four porters preceded by the Pope's steward and some of his servants, carrying on their shoulders something covered with a white sheet strewed with artificial flowers, came out of the Pope's palace, walked solemnly across the Square of St. Peter's past the Castle and Bridge of St. Angelo, till they stopped at the door of the English College, where they sent for me, and said they had brought this burden as a present from the Pope. Hundreds of people were following to see what this novel spectacle could mean. But what do you think it was? A fine fat live calf, with a halter of red silk and gold on its head, its feet tied with red silk cords to the litter and its head and neck adorned with beautiful garlands of artificial fruits and flowers. It was a beautiful animal. On Easter Tuesday I had most of the English Catholic gentlemen in town to dinner, in order to partake of it. Among the rest were Bishop Baines, Lord Arundell, Lord Gormanston, Lord Dormer, Sir Patrick Bellew, Mr. Doughty, Mr. Barrow, Mr. Nugent, Mr. Errington, Mr. Sargent, Mr. Preston and Mr. John Roskell. As I could not invite ladies to dine in the College, I sent Lady Arundell a fine fillet, that the ladies might partake of it together at her house.

"When I went to thank His Holiness last week for these attentions he invited eight of our students to carry the canopy which is held over him while he carries the Blessed Sacrament in grand procession round the Colonnade of St. Peter's on the festival of Corpus Christi." [1]

The proposal of Dr. Bramston to be allowed to have Dr. Gradwell as his coadjutor in England came before Propaganda in May 1823; and after some short delay the Pontiff granted the request on June 8, 1823, anxiously

[1] In Bishop Ward's *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, ii. p. 202.

enquiring first what arrangement it was proposed to make for the government of the English College. Bishop Gradwell, as he must now be called, was consecrated in the chapel of the College by Cardinal Zurla, assisted by Monsignor Caprano and Dr. Baines. On July 9 he had his farewell audience of the Pope, and on the following day he handed over the government of the College to Dr. Wiseman, who had been appointed Pro-Rector for a time, until the wishes of the English Bishops had been taken as to the appointment of a permanent successor. The same day Dr. Gradwell left Rome for England.

It is impossible for any one to read the documents appertaining to this period of reconstruction of the English College without seeing that the Institution owes a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Gradwell. He was truly a man placed in his post by Providence, for he had all the many qualities required to carry out the often delicate negotiations requisite at the founding of an Institution. He had likewise an intense love for the College and its long and glorious history. His notes show that he knew the Archives well, and that he possessed the true historical sense which enabled him to arrange and use them properly. His memory should ever be held in benediction by every *alumnus* of the Venerabile.

DR. WISEMAN

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CHAPTER XII

THE COLLEGE UNDER DR. WISEMAN

When Dr. Gradwell departed for his new sphere of work in England, his Vice-Rector, Dr. Wiseman, was appointed at first as pro-Rector, and in December of the same year, 1828, was permanently confirmed as Rector of the Venerabile. The twelve years in which he held this office may be regarded as the golden age of the English College. Although Wiseman was then not twenty-six years of age, he had already taken a position of pre-eminence in the ecclesiastical and learned world of Rome. His *Horæ Syriacæ*, which appeared in the previous year, had made for him a reputation among European scholars, and had brought him into touch with some of the most illustrious writers of the world.[1]

Whilst still Vice-Rector of the College, he devoted a great part of the years 1825–7 to the preparation of his *Horæ* and to his study of Syriac and other Eastern lan-

[1] The journal *Diario di Roma* from time to time noted the doings of Dr. Wiseman. For example, on July 14, 1824, it gives a long account of his public theses at the Gesù, already spoken of in the last chapter. May 16, 1829 (pp. 9, 10) it describes a ceremony at the English College, "Sotto la direzione del Rev. Sign. Dottore D. Niccola Wiseman, Agente del clero d'Inghilterra e Rettore." *Diario di Roma*, June 11 (pp. 2, 3), gives an account of a meeting of the *Accademia di Religione Cattolica*, in which Dr. Wiseman criticised the *Life of Gregory VII*, by Gresley. The same journal, July 11, 1837 (p. 1), speaks of a conference, which he gave to the same Society on June 15. Again it notes several essays of Wiseman published in the *Annali delle Scienze Religiose*, in 1836 and 1837. In 1839 (Jan. 8, p. 1) the *Diario* speaks of his winter course of sermons in the Church of Gesù e Maria in the Corso and of other sermons in S. Silvestro in Capite. In the same year (1839, Feb. 5) the journal speaks of a funeral discourse, which Dr. Wiseman preached at San Carlo in Corso, on the Indian Princess Sombre Begum. In 1840 (Feb. 25) it notices his sermon preached during the Octave of the Epiphany in the Church of Spirito Santo dei Napoletani. In the same year (June 16) it records his consecration as Bishop, and finally on July 21 it speaks of a conference he gave before the *Accademia di Religione Cattolica.*

guages. He had a wonderful facility for acquiring new tongues, which has been compared with that of the celebrated Mezzofante himself. The *Horæ Syriacæ* was acknowledged as the work of a thorough student in Syrian MSS., and displayed such sound critical powers that many of the foremost authorities of the day, "of many religions and nationalities," regarded it as the first production of one who was to be a great Orientalist.[1] These were years during which he formed a lasting friendship with Monsignor Mai, the future Cardinal. "I look back," wrote Cardinal Wiseman to a friend in 1856, "with much tender affection and sweet gratitude to the quiet hours I used to spend alone in the hall of the Vatican library, surrounded with old Syrian MSS., and every now and then having a chat with the learned Cardinal Mai, as he passed through. For I was the only person whom he allowed to be there during the midsummer vacation, when the *scriptores* even were absent. Occasionally he would bring me the Syrian treatises, which he has published in his Collection, to revise and correct for him. He continued his friendship for me to the last."

In his *Recollections*, too, Cardinal Wiseman has a passage which records these studious days of his early youth, when he was Vice-Rector of the English College, and when, although at the time only four- or five-and-twenty, he was on terms of intimacy and equality with the first Oriental scholars in the Eternal City. "Who," he writes, "has remained in Rome for his intellectual cultivation, and does not remember quiet hours in one of the great public libraries, where noiseless monks brought him and piled around him the folios which he required, and he sat as still amid a hundred readers as if he were alone?

"But there is an inner apartment in that great house, and he who may have penetrated into it will look back on the time with pleasurable regret. Imagine him seated alone in the second hall of the Vatican library, round which are ranged now empty desks (for it is vacation time), while above is a row of portraits of eminent librarians . . . a door opposite gives a view of the grand double hall beyond, divided by piers. The cases round them and along the

[1] W. Ward, *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, i. p. 54.

walls are the very treasure shrines of learning containing only gems of manuscript lore. Above, all is glowing with gold and ultramarine as airy and brilliant as the Zuccari could lay them. The half-closed shutters and drawn curtains impart a drowsy atmosphere to the delicious coolness which gives no idea of the broiling sun glaring on the square without. Imagine, however, no idler, for such a one could not obtain access there at such a season—but an assiduously plodding, perhaps dull-looking, emaciated student, in whose hand crackles the parchment of some old dingy volume whose turn has come of the many around him to be what is called 'collated.' . . . Perhaps at the moment of a delightful discovery that the dusky membranaceous document has, in a certain spot, a preposition or even a letter different from three companions, there enters silently a man of middle age with lofty brow and deep-set eyes, and happy in the loose drapery of home and summer—for he lives among books—and sits down beside the solitary learner. Kind and encouraging words, useful practical information, perhaps a discussion on some interesting point, make a quarter of an hour's diversion from the weight of the day and the heat. But coming from or shared with the discoverer of Cicero and Fronto, of Isocrates and Dionysius, they may become the beginning of a long-cherished and valued friendship. Hours like these often repeated pass not away lightly from the memory. Spent under the very shadow of the great dome, they endear Rome by the recollection of solid profit gained and garnered for the evil days of busier life."

Every lover of the English College in Rome must feel a pride in the reflection of the position won by Dr. Wiseman by his patience and laborious studies. Whilst still Vice-Rector, he was appointed by Pope Leo XII Professor of Oriental Languages at the Roman University. And the numerous letters he received from eminent scholars, such as Bunsen, Tholuck, Father Ackermann of Vienna and Scholz of Bonn, testify to their appreciation of his extraordinary merits. The *Horæ Syriacæ* was at once translated into German, and aroused the attention of the German-speaking people. In England the Anglican Bishop of Salisbury

introduced this young but brilliant scholar and his work to the British public, and secured his election to various learned societies.

Such was the extraordinary position attained by the Vice-Rector before the departure of Dr. Gradwell from Rome. His appointment as Rector necessarily diverted much of his energy to other channels and prevented him from becoming, as many had considered he would certainly have become, one of the foremost scholars of the day. Besides these studies which occupied his thoughts and time during the years 1825–7, Dr. Wiseman, no sooner had the composition of his volume been completed, found himself obliged to undertake the more public rôle of a preacher. In 1827 he chanced to be with the Rector, Dr. Gradwell, at an audience of the Holy Father, when Leo XII expressed a desire that some special services and sermons should be undertaken for the English residents in Rome, and for the numerous visitors who from time to time found themselves in the city. He naturally looked to the English College to carry out this work. The Rector assented, and suggested that Dr. Wiseman would be the proper man to undertake the work. The Church of Gesù e Maria in the Corso was fixed upon by the Holy Father as a fitting *locale* for the experiment, and the Pope promised to defray all the expenses and to send some members of the Papal choir to sing at the services. The College Diary consequently records on December 9, 1827 : " Dr. Wiseman preached his first sermon at the Gesù e Maria on Repentance. The Pope sent twelve singers from his choir." There is also a record of another sermon on the Love of God, preached on February 10, 1828. To Dr. Wiseman this was no slight task; but in later life he regarded the charge as having been a special Providence to prepare him for his future labours in England. Of the necessary work of preparation for the discourses he writes : " It would be impossible to describe the anxiety, pain and trouble which this command cost me for many years after. The sermons were for years written out fully and learnt by heart." In his *Recollections* Wiseman says : " Leo could not see what has been the influence of his commission in merely dragging from commerce with the

dead to that of the living, one who would gladly have confined his time to the former—from books to men, from reading to speaking. Nothing but (his command) would have done it. Yet supposing that the province of one's life was to be active and in contact with the world, and one's future destinies were to be in a country and in times when the most bashful may be driven to plead for his religion and his flock, surely a command, overriding all inclination and forcing the will to undertake the best and only preparation for these tasks, may well be contemplated as a sacred impulse and a timely direction to a mind that wanted both. Had it not come then it never would have come. Other bents would soon have become stiffened and unpliant."

The biographer of Cardinal Wiseman[1] writes of him at this time: "In the following year—in June 1828—Dr. Gradwell, the Rector of the English College, was made Bishop and sent to England, and Wiseman, who was not yet twenty-six years old, succeeded him as Rector of the College. We note henceforth a great change in his life; for which circumstances had already been preparing him. The *Horæ Syriacæ* had by this time made him a marked man in the learned world, and visitors to Rome sought him out as a person of distinction. As the chief English preacher in Rome, he was turned to for advice and guidance in the not unfrequent cases of the reconciliation of Englishmen to Catholicism; and his new appointment gave him the prominence attaching to the official representative of English Catholics in Rome. We find in a rough diary—so rough as to be unfit to quote from at length—indications of his daily life in the summer of 1828, and it shows the change in his habits. Hitherto a shy student, associating little with his neighbours, from the time of Dr. Gradwell's nomination and the success of his book, not only had he to attend to the business of the College, but he appears to have mixed freely in society, and to have corresponded with the learned world in various countries. His already full and varied college life—a life of reading, of lecturing and preaching, of the musician and art critic—thus became

[1] Mr. Wilfrid Ward, i. p. 67.

united with a marked growth of external relations. 'When shall I once more be quietly at my books?' he writes on July 12, after a month of unceasing alternations of business, society and elaborate correspondence."

Mr. Wilfrid Ward gives his readers some samples of the daily occupation of the new Rector at this period, which he had gleaned from this rough diary. Though somewhat lengthy, these are well worth recording in these pages, as they cannot fail to interest all *alumni* of the Venerabile, old and young.

"On June 24 Dr. Gradwell is consecrated; Cardinal Zurla, who had succeeded the great Consalvi as Cardinal Protector of the College, officiates. Wiseman conducts the music (the alternate verses of the *Te Deum*, he notes, were in four parts, without organ). Company present: Monsignori Nicolai, Testa, Baines, Gasparini (the intimate friend of Leo XII), Cappacini (Consalvi's ex-Secretary), Lord Arundell of Wardour, Mr. Colyar (whose name is familiar to those who have read Macaulay's account of his visit to Rome in 1838), Abbate Testa, Santucci and Fornari (afterwards a Cardinal). Dinner follows, then a walk and vespers at St. John Lateran. Wiseman's musical soul revels in the psalms, especially the *Credidi* and *Beatus Vir*. Next day is spent in accompanying Dr. Gradwell on visits of ceremony to various Cardinals, and in fixing an audience at the Vatican. He dines at Duke Torlonia's, meets there Lord and Lady Arundell, Madame Mendoza, two Russians, Herr Thorwaldsen, the great sculptor, and others. Then to Villa Borghese, and in the evening to a party at Princess Massimo's. A long talk with Lady Westmoreland and a short one with Cardinal Gregori are chronicled. June 28 is spent in writing his inaugural discourse as Rector, and preparing the Mass music (Zingarelli, No. 2) for the next day. We have (a few days later) an indication of what these musical rehearsals sometimes involved. He copied out the parts himself in the case of favourite pieces of music which had never been published, and the musical performers to be supplied with copies comprised, not only a choir, but two violins, a 'cello and two clarinets, as well as an organist —all residents at the College.

"On July 1, visits to Monsignor Testa, who is reading Pritchard on Egyptian Mythology, and to Sir W. Gell, are noted. Then comes an expedition to Kelsall's studio in the Piazza Barberini. Wiseman admires his statue of Discobolus 'taking aim with his discus—the moment which must operate powerfully on his expression, for after that moment the chief object to be represented would be muscular exertion.' Kelsall also shows him the *abbozzo* of a monument of 'an Ambassadress of Holland.' She will be represented recumbent just before expiring, with the crucifix on her breast, gazing up with her last effort towards her daughter, who comes in the form of an angel to call her. This is founded on fact: the Countess had for several years been disconsolate for the loss of this daughter, and I believe her grief had accelerated her end, when, a few moments before it, she revived and exclaimed: 'I see my daughter coming for me,' and instantly expired. Thence he went to De Fabri's to see his model for the monument to Tasso.

"Later in the day he goes to a party at Countess Carpegna's, and records a conversation on ideology and memory, occasioned by the paralytic stroke which has afflicted Monsignor Mario, and which has destroyed his memory for *substantives*. Fornari mentioned the librarian at Milan, Mazzuchelli, who has so far lost his memory as to have to take a master for reading and writing.

"Audiences with Cardinal Zurla and with the Pope are on the 5th and 9th of July; at the latter an honorary degree in Divinity is obtained for Dr. Griffiths, afterwards Vicar-Apostolic of the London District and then President of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall. A few days later, after Dr. Gradwell's departure, we have a letter from Ackermann of Vienna with news of a fresh Austrian review of the *Horæ Syriacæ*. The letter and Arabic extracts enclosed are sent by Wiseman to Professor d'Allemand at the Apollinare, and afterwards discussed with him. Dinner at Lady Westmoreland's at Palazzo Rospigliosi. Present: Lady Campbell, Marchesa de la Grua (with whom he converses on Spain), the Giuntalardis, Dr. Nott, an ex-tutor to Princess Charlotte, now engaged in collating MSS at the great Benedictine Library of Monte Cassino. 'When

I was leaving with the rest,' he says, 'Lady Westmoreland called me back, made me sit by her . . . and went through all her grievances on the Blessingtons' account. Luckily Lord Dudley Stuart came in, and at the Ave Maria I made my escape: *sic me servavit Apollo.*'

"The next few days are occupied entirely in teaching and in preparing his lectures on the Eucharist. There is a dinner-party at Cardinal Zurla's: among the company, Monsignori Testa and Gasparini. The former tells Wiseman of the Pope's intention to form an Oriental Society, of which Wiseman is to be a member. A long talk with Monsignor Mai is chronicled on the 30th. Both he and Monsignor Testa 'had a thousand questions to ask about O'Connell's proceedings,' which reminds us that Catholic Emancipation was in prospect. O'Connell's *coup* in standing for County Clare, in order to emphasise before the world the injustice of his exclusion for religion, is duly chronicled a few days earlier.

"The entry on August 2 begins as follows: 'My birthday. I have now completed 26. Said Mass for myself, to obtain that the next and following years of my life may be spent more to the purpose for myself and others than my last and those which preceded it. Made good determinations—may they not prove like those which have vanished before them.'

"The journal ends in the autumn. We find, in August, an expedition to Monte Porzio, frequent visits to libraries—as St. Agostino and the Minerva—learned conversations with Professor d'Allemand, correspondence with Ackermann and Volke, and a breakfast party at Cardinal Zurla's. An incidental reference to another Roman student, afterwards, like Wiseman, an English-speaking Cardinal, may be noted. On August 25 we read: 'Cullen came in to ask me to go to Frascati to see young Mr. Hillyer . . . who has just become a Catholic.'

"On the same day reference is made to the deaths of two ex-students—deaths full of fervour and consolation.

"'When I consider' (he writes) 'that the most virtuous are called from us, and such poor wretches as myself left to be the supports of God's holy religion, it makes me fear

His judgments are upon us, and that He only leaves us because we are not fit to pass to His enjoyment. May the examples He has given us not be thrown away. How little does the world look when viewed from the death-bed of the just!'"

Shortly after Wiseman's appointment as Rector of the College, Pope Leo XII died, on February 10, 1829. After a Conclave extending over thirty-six days, Cardinal Castiglione was elected to succeed him on March 31, and took the name of Pius VIII. The position of the Rector, as the representative of British Catholics in Rome, obliged him officially to inform the Holy Father of the passing of the Bill for Catholic Emancipation by the English Parliament. This he did in company with his Vice-Rector, Dr. Errington, and after their formal audience, they proceeded to inform the Cardinal Secretary of State. The English College celebrated the occasion according to the usual Roman method of rejoicing, which Wiseman describes in his *Recollections* [1] as follows:—

"The front of our house was covered with an elegant architectural design in variegated lamps and an orchestra was erected opposite for festive music. In the morning of the appointed day, a *Te Deum* attended by the various British Colleges was performed; in the afternoon a banquet on a magnificent scale was given at his villa near St. Paul's by Monsignor Nicolai, the learned illustrator of that Basilica; and in the evening we returned home to see the upturned faces of the multitudes reflecting the brilliant 'lamps of architecture' that tapestried our venerable walls. But the words 'Emancipazione Cattolica,' which were emblazoned in lamps along the front, were read by the people with difficulty and interpreted by conjecture; so that many came and admired but went away unenlightened by the blaze that had dazzled them, into the darkness visible of the surrounding streets.

"In fact the first of the two words, long and formidable to untutored lips, was no household word in Italy, nor was there any imaginable connection in ordinary persons' minds between it and its adjective, nor between the two and

[1] p. 393.

England. But to us and our guests there was surely a magic in the words that spoke to our hearts, and awakened there sweet music more cheering than that of our orchestra, and kindled up a brighter illumination in our minds than that upon our walls."

Pope Pius VIII, after a brief pontificate, died on December 1, 1830. He was succeeded by Cardinal Cappellari, a true personal friend of Dr. Wiseman. He was well known as a theologian, and was a Camaldolese monk of ascetic life. His first greeting to the English Rector after his elevation was: "You must now revise your own proofs. I fear I shall not have much time to correct them." [1]

In 1830, there came to the English College to prepare for the priesthood a recent convert, now well known as Father Ignatius Spencer, and the fact of his stay in the Venerabile and of his having been ordained in the College chapel is something of which the *alumni* have reason to be proud. "This holy man," writes Mr. Wilfrid Ward, "whose life is among the remarkable stories of religious devotion in this century, passed his early years after the manner of a fashionable young man of the time." He was the brother of the late Lord Spencer. "Having gone through his career at Cambridge, and his early years of London society, with an average share of the faults of youth, he received—strange to say—his first strong religious impression from the opera of *Don Giovanni*, which he witnessed in Paris in 1820. 'The last scene,' he writes, 'represents Don Giovanni seized in the midst of his licentious career by a troop of devils and hurried down to Hell. As I saw this scene, I was terrified at my own state. I knew that God, who knew what was within me, must look on me as one in the same class as Don Giovanni . . . this holy warning I was to find in an opera-house in Paris.' He took orders in the Anglican Church a little later, and after years of vacillation as to the form of theology which he should adopt, he became a convert . . . in January 1829." [2]

The influence of Father Spencer in the English College during his stay, especially by his devotion and enthusiasm, was very marked. In July 1830, Dr. Wiseman, writing to

[1] *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, i. 110. [2] *Ib.*, p. 99.

Dr. Husenbeth, describes briefly his own feeling in regard to this saintly and extraordinary man : " I find Mr. Spencer has been beforehand with me in writing to you, and has thus deprived me of one of the topics which would have been most interesting to you. You will more fully know him from a few lines written by himself than by any account I could give you of him. For I never met any one whose mind and heart so unreservedly exhibit themselves in every action and word as in his case. He is candour and openness itself—I have no doubt but that Divine Providence has brought him to the truth, not only for his own sake, but for the salvation of others, so that in his conversion ' many shall rejoice.' "

At the beginning of the following year, 1831, Dr. Weedall, who was staying at the Collegio Inglese at the time, writes that " Mr. Spencer preached his first sermon in the College Chapel on the Purification. Indeed, he was actually preaching when the cannon announced the election of Pope Gregory (XVI). His sermon was plain and familiar, full of good sense and piety, and was delivered with a feeling effect. I think he is destined to do wonders in England. He is preparing to receive subdeacon's orders in Lent. I said Mass for him, with sensations I cannot describe, at the tomb of the Apostles in the subterranean church at St. Peter's on the 30th January, the ' conversion of St. Paul.' It was the day he went to Garendon Park, directed by a grace that decided his resolution. He went to Holy Communion on the occasion."

From the first Dr Wiseman, as Rector, and his Vice-Rector, Dr. Errington, laboured without sparing themselves for the education, intellectual and religious, of the students of the English College. It was no light privilege for those who lived in the place at this time to be directed by two such successful students in their studies, and to be able to follow the familiar discourses of their Rector on almost every topic. In 1833, after the departure of Father Ignatius Spencer and Dr. Logan—the first the enthusiast, the second the man of culture and ability—Dr. Wiseman seems to have found no one in Rome to take their place, and complains of feeling lonely and depressed for awhile. He was not

well, and his labours in the previous years began to tell upon him. The weather, too, in the summer of that year was bad, and tended to make him take a sad view of everything. In September 1833 he was at Monte Porzio with the students, and kept much to himself and enjoyed the company of his favourite dog, Minna.

At that time he wrote to a friend: "Since we came out we have hardly had a day without rain. I have been once out on horseback, to show the new ones the antiquities of Albano. To-day a party has gone to Tivoli; but it has been raining in torrents all day, though the morning was very fine. With the exception of this expedition, I have not been farther than the Clementines. In fact, I feel little inducement to do so, for, independent of the weather, a lonely ramble is but sorry relaxation for one who when alone is necessarily driven to think. Minna is on these occasions my only companion, and though her pranks and caresses are amusing and engaging, yet she is but a dumb companion. Not that there exists the slightest coldness between me and the rest, for nothing can exceed the good-humour and content which reigns through the house; but I never can feel that cordiality of intercourse to which I have been accustomed towards those whose pursuits and thoughts are so different from mine."

Towards the end of November of the same year, 1833, Wiseman writes to a friend some items of Roman and College news. "Now for a little news. We have had a splendid dirge for the King of Spain at the Spanish Church. The decoration was beautiful and Mozart's Requiem was splendidly performed. The only fault was that the time was throughout taken too quick. Two striking instances of the uncertainty of life have lately taken place within the circle of our acquaintances. First the excellent Archpriest of Monte Porzio, whom we left in October in flourishing health, in less than a month was carried off by a fever caught in attending a sick person. The second case is more tragic. The new Abbot of Grotta Ferrata, a young man elected with great opposition, robust and cheerful, was sleeping a few nights after we left the country, when a gun charged with small shot was fired at his window,

and smashed it. This was only a feint to make him get up; but fortunately he only covered himself more, for presently after a volley of bullets, of which nine were found, was poured into the room. After some time he rose and gave the alarm, and early in the morning came off to Rome. I saw him a few days after, looking bewildered, pale and haggard. Every evening at the same hour as the attack happened he is seized with fits, one of which will shortly close his life. Fornarini, it is supposed, will be the new Archpriest, as the village has petitioned for him. Abbate Bruti has disappeared on a sudden from the world, and is in his novitiate at Subiaco.

"In the College we have been going on very well; the two Messrs. Davies have arrived, and a valuable acquisition they are. Both are excellent musicians, the elder having studied counterpoint with Baini, the other a finished organist, and possessing a strong soprano voice up to A and sometimes C. The elder is a beautiful artist in Raphael's early manner . . . the younger a Cambridge man, perfectly versed in Greek and Latin literature, particularly in the curious departments, as the old grammarians and musicians. He is also a good Hebraist and a most amusing companion. I wish you were here; I am sure you would be delighted. . . . I am living a hermit's life this winter, going out nowhere and making few acquaintances. Though Rome was never so full as this year, since I came I never knew so few people. Yesterday Cardinal Weld gave a large *soirée* in honour of Lord Anglesea. . . . My chest has been troubling me so much I cannot preach this year; this duty will be discharged by Dr. Baggs and Rev. Mr. Miley from Dublin, who has a high character as a preacher. I do not think I told you in my last that during *Villeggiatura* I commenced Persian, and have continued it with spirit as far as other things would allow me, and I read it and speak it more easily than Arabic. . . . I have been writing over again, and am gradually delivering, my course of lectures upon the advantage of science to the Evidences, bringing them down to the present time, and shall probably print them, but how can I manage the correction for the press without you?

" I believe I did not tell you that one day during *Villeggiatura*, as Paolo was coming into the gate, he was arrested and sent off to Viterbo to take his trial for a murder said to have been committed by him ten years ago, there. I suppose Nicolai had screened him from the mishap so long as he lived. His brother says he is at liberty in his *paese*, and will soon be allowed to come to Rome; others diversely report as to how he would be condemned to twenty years' galleys. In the meantime we have a man from the Abbate; but I am now going to take a decisive step in favour of a fixed *vignaruolo*, the more so as it seems Paolo was given to liquor, always went armed, and disguised policemen used, every now and then, to pay the vineyard a visit as his friends, but, I suppose, to watch him that he gave them not the slip."

During this year, 1833, Dr. Wiseman received at the English College a visit from two English travellers, which was the beginning of a train of events which had a great deal to do with his subsequent career. These two were J. H. Newman, the future Cardinal, and his friend Hurrell Froude, who has described their conversation with Wiseman on that occasion.

" It is really melancholy," he writes in April to a friend, " to think how little one has got for one's time and money. The only thing I can put my hand on as an acquisition is having formed an acquaintance with a man of some influence in Rome, Monsignor Wiseman, the head of the English College, who has enlightened Newman and me on the subject of our relations to the Church of Rome. We got introduced to him to find out whether they would take us in on any terms to which we could twist our consciences, and we found, to our dismay, that not one step could be gained without swallowing the Council of Trent as a whole. We made our approaches to the subject as delicately as we could. Our first notion was that terms of communion were within certain limits under the control of the Pope, or that in case he could not dispense solely, yet at any rate the acts of one Council might be rescinded by another —indeed, that in Charles I's time it had been intended to negotiate a reconciliation on the terms on which things

stood before the Council of Trent. But we found, to our horror, that the doctrine of the infallibility of the Church made the Acts of each successive Council obligatory for ever, that what had once been decided could never be meddled with again—in fact, that they were committed finally and irrevocably, and could not advance one step to meet us, even though the Church of England should become what it was in Laud's time, or indeed what it might have been up to the atrocious Council, for Monsignor Wiseman admitted that many things (*e. g.* the doctrine of the Mass) which were final then had been indeterminate before. . . . We mean to make as much as we can of our acquaintance with Monsignor Wiseman, who is really too nice a person to talk nonsense about." [1]

In the year 1834, Dr. Wiseman began to contemplate the possibility of transferring his energies to England. Bishop Baines had talked to him of schemes he had formed to promote a revival of Catholic thought and learning in England. He proposed to found a Catholic University and to establish a learned Catholic Review. He had been encouraged to do so by the Pope, and considered that a Papal Charter had already been promised him. He filled Wiseman's mind as to the possibility of the scheme, and proposed to him to come over to England, and become his coadjutor in the Western District, and direct the new movement from which he expected so much.

Although in the event nothing came of these proposals beyond a subsequent journey to England, Wiseman began to contemplate the coming severance of his connection with Rome and the English College. His feelings were divided at the prospect, as may be seen in a letter he wrote from Monte Porzio in the September of 1835: "Here we are at Monte Porzio, I in my old corner, with Minna beside me. The evening litany has just been sung, and the grasshoppers begun their endless chirrup. I have gazed with undiminished delight upon the splendid landscape below my little terrace, the mingled greens of olive and corn and vines—the three things whereby men are multiplied—the chestnut forests,

[1] W. Ward, *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, i. pp. 117–18. Wiseman, in his review of Hurrell Froude's *Remains*, denied that he had made any such inaccurate admission about the Mass (*Dublin Review*, May 1839).

the tangled sides of Catone, the lordly piles of St. Silvestro . . . and Rufinella, and the bright mirror of sea beyond all, and I am endeavouring to impress every image as deeply as possible, that I may have brighter recollections of what I may perhaps never see again. I can hardly bear the thought; indeed, to say we are looking on anything for the last time is like a death-bed speech, and a final parting is but a sort of death."

During the Lent of this year, 1835, he delivered in the Palazzo Odescalchi the course of lectures "On the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion," which at the time caused a sensation in the learned world of Rome. They had originally been arranged as a course of lectures to his own students at the English College, and were the conclusions he had arrived at during many laborious years of philological and scientific studies. Writing to Dr. Tandy whilst these lectures were in progress, Wiseman says: "I am now pretty well occupied. Besides my daily lectures at the Sapienza and my weekly sermon—for I have the preaching all to myself—I am delivering on Tuesdays and Fridays long lectures at Cardinal Weld's upon the increase of evidence to Christianity resulting from the progress of the sciences. I have delivered two on the comparative study of languages, to very crowded audiences, in which were many literary men of great reputation, and have had the good fortune to engage their attention and interest beyond expectation. I shall probably publish them in the course of the summer."

Mr. Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, who was one of the audience at the Palazzo Odescalchi, the Chevalier Bunsen, Döllinger, Scholz, Dr. Leipsius, Count Munster, Cardinal Mai and others expressed their admiration at these lectures, and at the skill with which Dr. Wiseman marshalled his evidences, and, of course, at the extent of his reading and research. Mrs. Somerville, the eminent mathematician, on coming to Rome asked for a letter of introduction to him, and "expressed herself," says a friend, "highly delighted with your lectures."

Mr. Wilfrid Ward writes:[1] "These lectures were in

[1] *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, i. p. 134.

some sense Wiseman's farewell to his student life, although he did not know it at the time. His reputation so far as the world of letters was concerned was probably at its height in that spring, when he was not yet thirty-three years old: and he used afterwards to speak of this part of his career as the happiest, both in itself and in the friendships to which it led. 'During that brief and long passed era of life,' he writes in 1858, 'congenial pursuits created links of which few now remain.' Apart from Italian artists and scholars, he names other friends and correspondents of this time whose memory he was wont to prize. 'Such scholars in France as the patriarch of Oriental literature, Silvestre de Sacy; the rival of Grotefend and precursor of Rawlinson, Saint-Martin; the inaugurator (almost) of Tartar and Mongolian learning, Abbé Rémusat; not to mention Balbi, Ozanam, Halma and many others.'

"Among Germans he recalls Möhler, Klee, Scholz, Frederick Schlegel, Windischmann and the two Görreses."

With Dr. Wiseman's journey to England in the summer of 1835 and with what he did there the history of the English College is not immediately concerned. The only matter of special interest to the *alumni* of the Venerabile is to remember that the historic *Dublin Review*, which still flourishes as the chief English Catholic organ, was established, and at first edited by the future Cardinal, whilst still Rector of the English College. It may easily, however, be imagined that all Dr. Wiseman's literary activity, and the pre-eminent position he had gained for himself as one of the most renowned scholars in Rome, and even, we may say, in Europe, had an inspiring effect upon all the students who were privileged to live under him at this time.

The Rector returned from England in time for the opening of studies. The Rev. Mr. Kyan, who came out as a student with him in this year, has left his impressions of the Rector during the last years of his stay in Rome, which are of great interest to us and may be given at length.

"When I first knew him he was, I think, at the crisis of his career, at the close of his student life, and about to commence the important part he took in the religious movement and the ecclesiastical politics of his day. He

may—I think he must—have applied much to study (at an earlier time), but I never saw anything like continuous application on his part while I was at the English College. What he wrote was thrown off rapidly and at a single effort. Indeed, what with his daily lectures at the University, his weekly sermons, his duties as agent to the Bishops of England, his multifarious correspondence, his visitors and his visits, he was too busy to be able to read much.

"He was never idle for a moment. Even recreation he made subservient to a useful purpose. On each Thursday (the weekly holiday) it was his habit to take us all to one of the Catacombs, or churches, or antiquities, or picture galleries, or the museums, or the studios of artists, and on such occasions we were often accompanied by some German scholar or other friend of his, interested in Christian art. . . . Sometimes he would spend a few days out of Rome in order, I think, to find a little leisure for writing. On one occasion in 1837, shortly before the visit of the two English Bishops, he took three or four of us with him to Fiumicino, at the mouth of the Tiber, for two or three days. As soon as we arrived we went to the pier, such as it was, where we found not more than two or three persons walking, muffled up to the ears and looking very miserable. 'This is their notion of the sea,' he said, 'and most of them have never seen as much, and those who come here keep close within doors: so they might as well be in Rome.' He himself took great delight in the sea. We had a pleasant time of it, meeting at meals and spending the rest of the day as we liked. While we were amusing ourselves he was working at his articles for the Review, but always contrived to walk out with us for a couple of hours daily, and we all bathed in the sea at some spot on the sands where we were not likely to be disturbed. He was very fond of what he called an 'outing.' Sometimes he would take the whole of us in carriages to some place outside Rome, such as the spot known as the ruins of Veii, taking provisions for a picnic. On such occasions he was the most joyous of the party, and he liked to see others happy.

"In proof of Dr. Wiseman's versatility, I may mention that he often acted as our organist. Indeed he had a

critical appreciation of music as well as of the other fine arts. It was he, too, who painted the scenes for the first play which we acted in 1837. I may take this opportunity of stating what I now feel myself at liberty to mention, viz. the fact that he himself wrote a piece for us, the scene of which was America. The manuscript was handed to those of the students who officiated as managers, with instructions to take a fair copy and then to return the original to him, and on no account to divulge even to the other students the fact that he had written it.

"I think he was hardly aware that what enabled him to achieve so much was genius. He thought that others could do what he had done, and was anxious they should follow in his footsteps. I heard from one, who was certainly not likely to be swayed by partiality, that he was ever kind and ready in affording help to others in their studies. He seemed unconscious of his intellectual superiority and would seek co-operation from minds immeasurably inferior to his own, as if on the same level with himself. . . . I do not think he ever forgot any one who had been under him. I know many instances in which he befriended them in after life. If they had thwarted him or even shown hostility, he was ever ready with a helping hand all the same. . . ."

Of Wiseman's intercourse with the students of the College Mr. Kyan also gives the following account: "He seldom reproved in words, though it was easy to see whether he was pleased or otherwise, for he was as natural as a child, and when annoyed had a habit of holding his lower lip between his forefinger and thumb and pouting, which many who smiled at it then will now remember. The harshest thing I ever heard him say was to a student who had been engaged with others in a wrestling match and had got some hurts in the face which required sticking-plaster. He said to the sufferer, as he was on his way to our infirmary, 'If you will play like bears, you must expect the fate of bears.' In general nothing could exceed his tenderness and sympathy for the sick."

To quote one more passage from the same recollections: "In November 1837, one of the Jesuit fathers was asked

to give a retreat in the English College. Previously to that time my impression had been that the relations between Dr. Wiseman and the Society were not very cordial. The effect of this retreat was remarkable on us all, from Dr. Wiseman down to the least of us—for I may venture to mention this much, since he said so himself. The intercourse of the students amongst themselves became frank and cordial beyond what it had been before, while their relations with their Rector were more intimate. He came out indeed in a new light, viz. as a spiritual counsellor. Many of the students chose him for their director. It was at this time he set himself the task of writing down his meditation of each day, so as to accumulate a series for the whole year."

These meditations were published in 1868 shortly after the Cardinal's death. In the brief preface contributed by his successor, Archbishop Manning says of them: "They were intended to form the habit of mental prayer in the youth committed to his charge, and to infuse into the rising Priesthood of England a spirit of personal piety. In them we still recognise the voice we knew so well. Some will yet remember the days, sweet to memory, when these meditations were read in the Venerabile College; and will welcome them as a memorial of one to whom, under God, they owe perhaps the vocation which is their highest blessing."

In the last year of his stay at the English College, Dr. Wiseman received many distinguished Englishmen as visitors; amongst them were Lord Macaulay, Mr. Gladstone, Manning, the Rector of Lavington as he then was. The two last named called at the College with a letter of introduction from M. Rio to Dr. Wiseman, and were invited by him to spend the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury with him and the students. They came to the Mass, and the places in the missals were found for them by Dr. Grant, afterwards Bishop of Southwark. In an autobiographical note Cardinal Manning thus refers to this visit: "On St. Thomas of Canterbury's Day in 1838, Gladstone and I called on Monsignor Wiseman as Rector of the English College. The *cappella cardinalizia* was going to begin. He

sent for a student to take us into the chapel. It was Thomas Grant, afterwards Bishop of Southwark. We stood together under the window on the court side of the chapel behind the cardinals.

"On St. Agnes' Day 1839, Monsignor Wiseman and I walked out to see the lambs blessed at Sta. Agnese fuori le Mura. He was not even Bishop. How little we thought that he and I should have the two first palliums in a new Hierarchy in England."

Lord Macaulay was introduced to Dr. Wiseman in the previous November, and he visited the English College and the Vatican on the same day—a day which he describes in his journal as one that "would furnish matter for a volume." This is what he says about the Venerabile: "We went to the English College and walked about the cloisters; interesting cloisters to an Englishman. There lie several of our native dignitaries, who died in Rome before the Reformation. There lie, too, the bones of many Jacobites, honest martyrs to a worthless cause. We looked into the Refectory, much like the halls of the small colleges at Cambridge in my time—that of Peterhouse for example. We found the Principal, Dr. Wiseman, a young ecclesiastic full of health and vigour—much such a ruddy, strapping divine as I remember Whewell eighteen years ago—in purple vestments standing in the cloisters. With him was Lord Clifford, in the uniform of a Deputy Lieutenant of Devonshire, great from paying his court to Pope Gregory. He was extremely civil, and talked with gratitude of General Macaulay's kindness to him in Italy. Wiseman chimed in. Indeed I hear my uncle's praises wherever I go. Lord Clifford is not at all my notion of a great Catholic peer of old family. I always imagine such a one proud and stately, with the air of a man of rank, but not of fashion, such a personage as Mrs. Inchbald's Catholic Lord in the *Simple Story*, or as Sir Walter's Lord Glenallan, without the remorse. But Lord Clifford is all quicksilver. He talked about the Pope's reception of him and Lord Shrewsbury. His Holiness is in high health and spirits, and is a little more merry than strict formalists approve. Lord Shrewsbury says that he seems one moment to be a boy eager for play, and the

next to be another Leo arresting the march of Attila. The poor King of Prussia, it seems, is Attila. We went into Dr. Wiseman's apartments, which are snugly furnished in the English style, and altogether are very like the rooms of a senior Fellow of Trinity. After visiting the library, where I had a sight of the identical copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* in which Parsons made notes for his answer, I took leave of my countryman with great goodwill." [1]

In 1839, Wiseman's future was determined by his appointment as coadjutor to the Venerable Bishop Walsh, Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District. This was his own wish, for he had for some time felt himself called to labour in his own country. The ecclesiastical authorities urged this strongly, and the Pope finally acceded to their demands. The number of the Vicars-Apostolic had been increased in 1840 from four to eight, and in May 1840 Dr. Wiseman was named coadjutor to Bishop Walsh and President of Oscott College. On June 8 he was given the titular dignity of Bishop of Melipotamus, which was chosen for him, as we learn from a memorandum, for commemoration of the martyrdom of a Vicar-Apostolic of Tonquin, who was Bishop of the same see: "not," he adds, "that he thought himself worthy of such a title, but that he might ever enjoy the patronage and example of so illustrious and good a pastor."

Previous to his consecration as Bishop, Dr. Wiseman went to make his spiritual retreat at the Passionist Convent of SS. John and Paul. Cardinal Fransoni performed the Episcopal consecration on June 8, in the chapel of the English College. His mother, as he records, was present at the ceremony; and on the following day he ordained two priests for the English Mission and several deacons and subdeacons. He afterwards administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to a recent English convert, whom he had received into the Church shortly before—the wife of a Belgian Chargé d'Affaires.

We can well understand with what sorrow Dr. Wiseman bade farewell to Rome and the venerable English College, whose associations "were interwoven with all the romantic

[1] Quoted in W. Ward's *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, i. pp. 272–3.

impressions of opening manhood." In a diary which he kept at this time he notes: "On the 1st of August, I left Rome after twenty-two years (about) passed happily in that city and in that College." He speaks of his grief at leaving "family, friends, companions, and many sacred places, but especially the College, the Alma Mater of piety and learning, the nurse and preserver of the liberal arts, from which I have drawn any good in my possession. May God deign to lay up in His bosom the grief with which I said farewell to these and so many other joys, never to be torn from my mind and heart. 'The Lord gave; the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord.'"

"Writing in 1857," says Mr. Wilfrid Ward, "he recalls the lost sight of Rome, and the sacred feelings which accompanied it and were ever ready to come back in their old vividness up to the end of his life.

"'It was a sorrowful evening,' he writes, '. . . when, after a residence in Rome prolonged through twenty-two years, till affection clung to every old stone there, like the moss which grew with it, this slender but strong tie was cut, and most of future happiness had to be invested in the mournful recollections of the past.'"

> "Cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago,
> Quæ mihi supremum tempus in urbe fuit,
> Cum repeto noctem qua tot mihi cara reliqui
> Labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis."
>
> Ovid, *Trist.*, iii. 14.

I may, perhaps, be allowed to add my own personal testimony to the way in which the memory of Rome and the English College ever clung to the great Cardinal Wiseman all through his life. As a small boy I have listened with wonder to his recollections of the happy days he passed in the Eternal City. I recall in particular one instance of the way in which passing things brought back his thoughts to those days. It was on the occasion of a private Ordination he had held at his own house in York Place, when he conferred the sacred priesthood upon one of the Oblate Fathers, the late Dr. Richards. I was there—I hardly know now for what reason; but the future Cardinal Manning—the "Father" as he was then called at Bays-

water—had taken me with him when he went with Father Richards to present him for Orders. At the breakfast afterwards Cardinal Wiseman, whose paternal affection for the young was one of his many charming characteristics, had placed me next to himself. On the table was a bunch of grapes, and as he took up the silver scissors to cut them the sight reminded him of Italy and of Monte Porzio, and he went into a long description of the beauties of that country of sunshine, and spoke of the view from his window at Porzio and of the pergola, with its hanging clusters of grapes, in the garden below. It was the first time I had ever heard of Monte Porzio; but I could see, from the way in which his face lit up, how his affections still clung to the old home of his youth.

CONCLUSION

THE rest of the history of the English College from the departure of Cardinal Wiseman to the present day is too recent to require any full treatment. When Dr. Wiseman was consecrated Bishop in 1840, he was succeeded in the post of Rector by the then Vice-Rector, Dr. Baggs, who had come to the College in 1825. He was ordained priest in 1830, and had become Vice-Rector on the departure of Dr. Errington in 1832. On the death of Bishop Baines, Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District, Dr. Baggs was chosen to succeed him, and was consecrated titular Bishop of Pella in the Church of San Gregorio, Rome, on January 28, 1844.

On April 13 of that year, 1844, Dr. Thomas Grant was named Pro-Rector until the English Bishops had been consulted as to the choice of a successor to Bishop Baggs, and in October he was appointed Rector. Dr. Grant had come to the English College in 1836 in the second year of Philosophy, and had been ordained priest in 1841, shortly after which he was made a Doctor of Divinity, and became Secretary to Cardinal Acton. He was a proficient in Latin, French and Italian, and was well versed in Canon Law, and " through his connection with Cardinal Acton became one of the most accomplished canonists in Rome. It was during his Rectorship of the English College that the negotiations for the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy of England were undertaken, and Bishop Ullathorne, who was chiefly engaged upon the matter, bears testimony to the aid afforded by Dr. Grant to bring about the successful issue of the business. " He initiated me," he writes, " into the elements of Canon Law, and into the Constitution and working of the Roman Congregations. He aided me in negotiations, revised my papers, translated them and shaped them; and having much influence at Propaganda, he used that influence in my service, as in the service of all the

Bishops. Nothing escaped his attention in England or at Rome that demanded the attention of the Vicars-Apostolic, whether as individuals or as a body. A note from him always contained the pith of the matter, whilst by action he had already not unfrequently anticipated the difficulty. We have never had an agent in my time who comprehended the real functions of an agent as he did. He never by silence or excessive action got you into a difficulty, but he got you out of many. Above all, he never left you in the dark."

The erection of the Hierarchy was the prelude to a great change in the life of Dr. Grant. By a decree of Propaganda, June 16, 1851, he was appointed to the newly created see of Southwark, and this appointment was confirmed by brief, June 1851.

" When he was proposed for the see of Southwark," wrote Bishop Ullathorne, " Monsignor Barnabò told Cardinal Wiseman that he should regret his removal from Rome, that he had never misled them in any transaction; and that his documents were so complete and accurate that they depended on them, and it was never requisite to draw them up anew." He was consecrated in the chapel of the English College on July 6, 1851, by Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, and left the Eternal City on September 2.

He always remained a firm friend of the Venerabile, and on his three subsequent visits to Rome—in December 1854, on the occasion of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception; in June 1867, for the Canonisation of the Japanese martyrs; and in December 1869, for the Vatican Council—he was a welcome guest at the College. On his last visit, he was very ill, and on February 14, 1870, was seized with a paroxysm of pain in the Council-hall, fell down, and had to be carried back to the English College. On March 7 he was honoured with a visit in his sick-room from Pius IX, but being somewhat better, accompanied the Pope to see the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, then in course of erection. He never recovered, and died at the College on June 1, 1870. Pius IX when he heard of his death, exclaimed, " Un altro santo in Paradiso."

On his death, Bishop Ullathorne wrote his appreciation of the work he had done in the early days of the Hierarchy.

"His acuteness, learning, readiness of resource and knowledge of the forms of ecclesiastical business made him invaluable to our joint counsels at home, whether in Synods or in our yearly episcopal meetings; and his obligingness, his untiring spirit of work, and the expedition and accuracy with which he struck off documents in Latin, Italian or English, naturally brought the greater part of such work on his shoulders. In his gentle humility he completely effaced the consciousness that he was of especial use and importance to us."

Bishop Grant was succeeded by Dr. Robert Cornthwaite in the Rectorship, who resigned in 1857 and was subsequently made Bishop of Beverley in 1861. On the division of that diocese, Dr. Cornthwaite was translated to Leeds in December 1878, and ruled the see till 1890, when he died.

During the rule of Dr. Cornthwaite a project was started in Rome, which although not immediately connected with the English College at first, was subsequently closely allied to it. This was the foundation of what was at first known as the *Collegio Ecclesiastico*, then as the Collegio Pio, and finally was re-constituted by Pope Leo XIII as the Collegio Beda. A project was started in 1852 for establishing in Rome a house for the reception of converts who were desirous of studying for the Church, and for other English priests who wished to work at some special studies, for all of whom the discipline, etc. of the English College was unsuitable. The idea was started by Monsignor Talbot, then in his first year as Cameriere Participante at the Vatican. It was encouraged by the Pope and warmly approved by Cardinal Wiseman. In the spring of 1852 there was taken a part of the house of the *Convertendi* in the Piazza Scossacavalli—a place, as Cardinal Wiseman considered, very suitable, as "it was at least partly built with English money by Sir Thomas Dereham, who is buried in the English College."[1]

At the same time Cardinal Wiseman expressed his satisfaction at the project. "I am delighted," he writes, "at the idea of the New College. Take an opportunity of thanking His Holiness most earnestly in my name. I look

[1] Letter to Monsignor Talbot, Feb. 8, 1852.

to immense advantages from such an institution, especially by its thoroughly Romanising the converts. You are right in your idea that Rome must convert England, for I attribute *everything* that has been done to its influence. Ritual, devotions, religious Orders, quarantore, confraternities, frequent communions, love of the Saints, *Gesù Sacramentato*, fearlessness of faith, attachment to the Holy See, more generous views of religion, a milder casuistry, more submission to rule, and less of bold ignorant self-guidance, greater faith in indulgences, miracles, etc. (in fact more active faith), the churches open all day, and a hundred more things I could trace *directly* to the influence of Rome and its College and teaching. Now these things have influenced conversions far more than learning and eloquence. The Office of Rector to the new College will be an arduous one, as he must unite great learning with sound piety and firmness with sweetness. Mr. Scratton, brother of the first convert of that name, is anxious to study for the Church and would just do for this College; he is left utterly destitute by his conversion."

In a subsequent letter the Cardinal suggested that he had advised two students to go to the College, and gives the names of Edward Howard, the future Cardinal, and Edmund Stonor, afterwards known to generations in Rome as Archbishop Stonor. It was not till the autumn of 1852, however, that the place was ready for occupation, and on Sunday, November 21, Monsignor Talbot presented to the Holy Father "the first six students of the 'Collegio Ecclesiastico,' Coleridge, Belaney, Scratton, Shortland, Bodley and Giles." "The Holy Father," he writes, "made them a very beautiful address, urging upon them the necessity of acquiring Ecclesiastical spirit, etc. Afterwards I got leave to dine with them in the Refectory. The Maggiordomo presided at the table; on one side of him was Anighi, on the other Monsignor Vitelleschi. At another table were Sacchetti, Serlupi, Dr. Cornthwaite and Strickland. At the bottom there was another table at which were Frennola and Don Pietro—at my own table were Coleridge, Belaney, Scratton, Giles and Bodley. The dinner was simple enough. After dinner the Maggiordomo gave us what is called 'Pistachio.' We had our coffee upstairs. After coffee we had a series of persons

coming to see us; all the gentlemen Catholics almost in Rome—even Dr. Grant came. Dr. Cornthwaite gave a little address, very fairly worded, then was the *Veni Creator* sung and afterwards there was the Benediction of the B. Sacrament, at which the English College sung. Everything went off very well."

In 1857, Dr. Lewis English succeeded as Rector of the Venerabile. He had been for some years Rector of the separate College of the Pio, which had now been transferred to premises in the English College, and it would seem that, on Dr. Cornthwaite's retirement, it was thought in Rome to be a good thing to appoint him as Rector of the two united establishments. From various letters that exist, it appears that in this the English Bishops were not fully consulted, and certainly some of them did not welcome the appointment. Cardinal Ferretti, who was at the time Protector of the two Colleges, in issuing the document uniting the institutes, decrees that there was to be only one Rector and two Vice-Rectors, one for each of the two colleges, the Venerabile and the Pio. The funds were to be administered separately, and the only things in common were to be the Church and the Refectory.

Dr. English was in a very bad state of health, and it looks as if he had made it clear to the authorities in Rome, that if he became Rector of the English College, he could not undertake to be the agent of the English Bishops, as previous Rectors from Dr. Gradwell's time had been, and also that he would be unable to administer the property belonging to the two Colleges, and suggested the appointment of some one to see to this part of the Rector's duties.

In the autumn of 1857, Dr. English was in England, but did not put himself in communication with the Bishops; and Cardinal Wiseman, in a letter to Monsignor Talbot, written from London on October 27, thus speaks about the appointment: "I have written to Cardinal Ferretti about Dr. English's appointment. But I am sorry to say that accounts of his health are *very bad.* I have not seen him, but Dr. Goss told Edmund Stonor ten or twelve days ago that he was too ill to say Mass on Sundays, that he had fainting fits, and that one lung was gone. This he had

heard from a person who had just seen him. Dr. Clifford told me his brother's (Mgr. English's) accounts are not as bad as that, but far from good. He is with him."

A few days later, Cardinal Wiseman wrote more fully on the subject of this appointment. "I have heard no more of Dr. English, and of course not from him since my last. I do not think he has made his existence known to any of the Bishops. I have always been candid with you, and therefore you will allow me to say, that I fear disappointments are before us in the College which will now have one head. Dr. E. it is understood will not accept the agency. The consequence will be that all correspondence will cease between the Bishops and Rector, except on purely College matters. A letter perhaps once a year calling for subjects or announcing the return or death of one, will be the extent of intercourse. Can the interests of the Bishops in the College be thus kept up? Can they feel the confidence they should have in one to whom they ought to entrust their choicest subjects, those whom they wish to have most attached to themselves and their dioceses? (Especially as some are under the impression that Dr. E. speaks contemptuously of the English Bishops.) I own I cannot think so, nor can I feel so. The agency kept up a constant correspondence between most of the Bishops, such as cannot write Italian, and the Rector. It was through this that they knew one another. In a letter of business a kind message would be sent to the students by the Bishop and in return their health, conduct, abilities and character were made known to him. Formal correspondence on the College would never take place, nor would it be right to have too much going on. Then of course the head of the College, cut off from England, and never able to say a word from the Bishops to their pupils, could not keep up *their* interest in it; and besides could know nothing for Propaganda of what was going on, except from newspapers, etc. As long as you are in Rome this may not matter, but it is a new system that is going to be introduced after just forty years' experience of the contrary.

"I am wrong, however, in saying that it is a new system; it is a return to one that previously existed, with no good

success. After the suppression and before it, the Bishops were obliged to have an agent, who either had money himself (as Monsignor Stonor) or ecclesiastical provision of some sort, besides funds yet existing in Rome, but now enjoyed by the Rector *as* agent. With the Rector of the College the Bishops had no communication. What was the consequence? They would send no students. I have seen Bp. Challoner's answers to Propaganda requesting the Bishops to send students. He and almost all declined. An agent in England picked them up from the streets, and the history of most of them as they figure in the archives of the English College, where I have often pondered over them, is indeed lamentable. I may mention that one of them, considered a model, apostatised immediately, but thank God died three or four years ago in Westminster, reconciled in extreme old age. . . . God forbid that I should anticipate anything so horrible in our days under the patronage of the H.F., a good Rector and your attention. But why, after forty years of a system begun by Pius VII and Consalvi, in *spite* of powerful opposition in Rome (for I have the minute history of the efforts made to keep Dr. Gradwell out of the Rectorship and to disjoin the offices), which has answered not ill, for every Rector has been found worthy of the Episcopate and scarcely a scandal has happened in any Roman priest and not one in the College, why, I ask, after this experience, commenced under such auspices, return to try another of which the experience and result were so calamitous? Depend upon it, my dear Friend, the disconnection of the Rector from the Bishops, the making the latter mere stokers to throw in fuel and him sole engineer is, at the best, a new experiment, the fruits of which I greatly fear.

" But there is another serious difficulty. An agent there must be in Rome. Hitherto the Rector, one of the clergy and considered as prospectively almost certain to be a bishop, was the *confidential* agent of all. He was trusted in the most delicate affairs between a bishop and his priest or priests. Nay, he was entrusted with knowledge of our mutual *miseriæ*, differences of opinion, etc. If there were human weaknesses in the Episcopate he knew it from our-

selves and could prudently inform the H.F. or Propaganda of what was going on. Who is to stand in this delicate position? We cannot afford to keep a person for the agency nor should we get the Bishops to agree on any separate person, *i. e.* not belonging to us by the College connection. Is it to be some Italian, who knows nothing of England and cannot even pronounce our names? Would *you* give one our business on 'trusts,' government bills, education, etc.? Or must it be the Rector of the Irish or Scotch Colleges? What can either know of our clergy and of our social position or of our Colleges, or of our progress and institutions more than an Italian? We (the Bishops) are all perplexed beyond measure and shall probably have to meet. My opinion is that the official tie with the Rector once broken, each will seek his own agent, one a Benedictine, another an Italian, a third a layman (Tempest, *e. g.*), and so each carrying his separate tale to Propaganda, and opening a door to intrigue. One Bishop wanted to leave Dr. Cornthwaite because he did not think he pushed his side enough—the only obstacle was the general bond of the College.

"You see, therefore, my opinion clearly, on this subject. Of course whatever the Holy Father decides will be cheerfully carried out, but an intimate acquaintance (such as no one else *can* have) with the history of our past relations with the Holy See and of the College gives me some claim to a hearing.

"And no less do I feel that I can speak on another subject: the intended revolution in the administration of the College. A residence of twenty-two years in a house, in every state from being the last and youngest student to its rectorship, gives one some right to speak. As a student I had not only Dr. Gradwell's kind confidence, but against my will that of Tosti, Nicolai and other persons connected with the temporals of the house. (Dr. G. from the day I entered it looked on me as his future successor. I know not why.) As Vice-Rector I had to superintend the expenditure, etc. But as Rector I had the invaluable assistance of my present Coadjutor (Dr. Errington), stern, inflexible and minutely accurate in looking into every bill, every book and every employment of money. The vineyards, etc.

were all brought by *him* from a state of long neglect under the *Deputati*, above mentioned, into splendid order, the fruit of which the present generation is tasting. But it so happened that just then the first revolution broke out, and for months or rather years payments were suspended to us from the Dataria funds, etc. Yet we were left with thirty students! Still we pulled through everything, and how? Not by upsetting the system, which is sound, honest and accurate, but by working it well and minutely. Dr. Errington and Signor Bianchini worked together day and night; every month drew up a *preventivo* or budget, made it fit to our incomings, or put off expenses not necessary. We did not stint the students in anything, we did not screw or straighten any one. It was *his* vigorous and necessary watchfulness and by his cordial assistance which encouraged others and gained their no less hearty co-operation, that a most rigid economy was attained and at the same time the system was fully tested and found to be valid and honest. Depend upon it, that if he had discovered any cooking of accounts, or fraud, or peculation or excessive profits or gain, he would never have rested till it was cured. . . . My experience in life has led me to mistrust those who come forward on the principle that they will turn everything topsy-turvy and put every one and everything right. They easily overthrow, but seldom build up. Such was poor Dr. Baines. He wanted to change any and everything and have a new system, and everything he did has perished."

In more than one subsequent letter the Cardinal returned to the subject of the English College, about which he was anxious. Thus in November 1862 he writes: "Dr. English is, I fear, *very* ill. The very fact of his coming to change air at this time by leaving Italy for England, shows the restlessness and capriciousness of a fatal malady. Should it please Providence to take him away, I hope *immense* care will be taken about his successor; and that we shall be able, as always hitherto, to recommend a Rector also our agent. I must own that I do not feel easy about matters in the College and that I hope there will be time for opening my mind, should such a misfortune as I have anticipated occur, more fully than it would be delicate to do at present."

"As to the College," he writes on February 10, 1863, "I have no desire that you should propose to have any official investigation about the property. On the contrary, I dread any intervention in its affairs, spiritual or temporal. I have been glad that you should be Pro-Rector for this very reason, that the superiors are all national. This I deem essential to its utility. . . . I dread any return to Italian government, or any introduction of the element into the house. I was twenty-two years in it—student and superior—and I know my sufferings and those of others, during many years of the time. But you knew G. at Oscott, an intriguer of the first water; and I feel certain that the introduction of one of that family into the College would end in mischief. Yet one seems to have wormed himself completely into the V.R.'s confidence. But enough of this: I am sure you will be alive to this danger."

Dr. English was succeeded in 1863 by Dr. Neve of the Clifton diocese. At this time Monsignor Talbot was Pro-Protector of the English College, and from the first there was little sympathy between him and Dr. Neve, whom he evidently regarded as one of the old school and opposed to any changes for the better—or what he regarded as better—in the regimen of the Venerabile. Archbishop Manning had at this time succeeded Cardinal Wiseman as head of the English Hierarchy and Monsignor Talbot made no secret of his disappointment at the attitude of Dr. Neve. The new Archbishop of Westminster had long desired to see radical changes in the education and discipline of the English Seminaries, which he regarded as antiquated and not adapted to modern requirements. In his predecessor's time he had endeavoured to effect what he considered as essential by getting Cardinal Wiseman to place the Fathers of the Oblate Congregation, which he had founded at Bayswater, at St. Edmund's College, Ware. He was defeated in this project by the action of some of the Bishops and the Chapter of Westminster. He had then set up a small Community of Oblates in Rome and had placed at the head of it Dr. O'Callaghan, a former professor at St. Edmund's. Within a few years of his becoming Archbishop, Manning explained to Mgr. Talbot why he thought it imperative on him to do

something to improve ecclesiastical education: "I cannot tell you the dearth of men above the average or out of the line of routine in this diocese, indeed in England generally. Good, zealous, faithful, unworldly as our priests are, their formation has not lifted them above the old level. We are rapidly coming in contact with public opinion and with society in such a way as to make a new race of men absolutely necessary."

Mgr. Talbot continued to write to England complaints about the English College, and on December 18, 1866, Archbishop Manning wrote: "What you tell me of the English College is not new to me. I am afraid all you say is true: and I see no cure but the complete remodelling of it. It is a sad thing that our noblest College should be so little appreciated." A few weeks later he proposed to Mgr. Talbot to draw up a scheme for reorganising the Venerabile and to send it by the Pope's command to the English Bishops. He adds: "Would not the Sulpicians take it? and can it be used for professors, and not missionaries only? I do not know a man to name for it in England. I say Sulpicians because they would not look for subjects; and I hardly know any other Order which would not; and some I know certainly would."

Mgr. Talbot replied by suggesting the plan of the placing it again under the Society of Jesus. To this the Archbishop objected, and expressed his belief that all the English Bishops would oppose that scheme, and added that in his opinion "what was wanted is *three good rulers* like Fr. O'Callaghan. The qualities needed are to be found, I believe, in England. I will gladly give any man in this diocese if there were one fit. But the real difficulty is their bad *tradition*. If there were a system like the discipline of Sta. Chiara introduced, the rector, even if a common man, would be able to work it. Now the Rector [Dr. Neve] is too weak to resist the tradition of liberty and laxity. The mixture of men from so many colleges will always make confusion, till a strong discipline is introduced.

"If the Holy Father would do this, and if need be close and reopen it like the Academia, it might be done. The Apollinare would afford an example of discipline.

"We have a fatal notion that Englishmen must be treated *altogether* differently. *Somewhat* perhaps, but in *the main* the same discipline ought to be imposed."

Finally Mgr. Talbot, without speaking to the English Bishops, who were all in Rome for the Centenary of St. Peter in 1867, proposed to the Pope to appoint Father O'Callaghan, the head of the English Oblates in the Eternal City, Rector in place of Dr. Neve, who had offered his resignation on the suggestion of Talbot. At the end of July of this year he announced this nomination to the Archbishop of Westminster, who advised him, if any of the Bishops complained, "to write a full and weighed letter on the whole subject of the English College as a *Pontifical College.* It is thought to belong to England, not to belong to Rome *for* England."[1]

Shortly after the appointment of Dr. Neve to the Rectorship of the venerable English College, Mgr. Talbot, whose position at the Vatican gave him great influence with Pope Pius IX, conceived the idea of rebuilding the church attached to the College, which had been destroyed during the period of the revolution, and the ruins of which were described by Cardinal Wiseman, when he came as a student in 1818. Mgr. Talbot had been named Pro-Protector of the College and he persuaded the Holy Father to favour the scheme. Provost Manning, as he was then, was in Rome at the end of 1863, and the idea must have been discussed with him and encouraged, since shortly after his departure on January 1, 1864, a general appeal for the necessary funds was sent out in the names of Mgr. "George Talbot, Protonotary Apostolic and Private Chamberlain of His Holiness, Delegate Pro-Protector of the English College" and "Frederick Neve, Rector of the English College." It is an interesting document for the history of the Venerabile, and is worth quoting at some length.

"To the Catholics of England, and of the whole Church, for the rebuilding of the English Church in Rome.

"England anciently possessed several churches in Rome; one dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity, a second to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a third in Trastevere to St.

[1] See Purcell's *Life*, ii. pp. 366 *seq.*

Edmund King and Martyr. These were united in the Church attached to the ancient Hospital, now the Venerable College of St. Thomas, from whom the two establishments naturally took their title. This concentration of all the English Institutions in Rome, is represented in the beautiful painting by the Florentine, Durante Alberti, yet preserved in the College, and formerly the Altarpiece of the church.

" The old church was unroofed towards the close of the last century, while the College was uninhabited; but its columns and walls remained standing, when it was recolonised in 1819. A few of those who then occupied it remain to remember ' the old temple ' in which Martyrs had sung the divine praises and had celebrated their first Mass.

" After so many years' exposure to the weather, it was considered necessary to demolish what remained standing of this poor, but venerable, edifice, and to cover the ground with a temporary building of such a form, as might one day serve for the groundwork of a new church. Indeed plans for rebuilding it were obtained at the time at considerable expense; one being prepared by the celebrated Valadier.

" From this brief narrative it will appear that the idea of one day restoring the church of ' St. Thomas of the English ' [1] has never been abandoned. . . .

" I. Other national churches such as that of Spain which were abandoned and disfigured at the same period as ours, have been not only restored but enriched.

" II. We are thus left almost alone, among the greater countries of Europe, without a national church, in the Catholic metropolis, where even small states and cities have their representative churches.

" III. Yet more English visit Rome than natives of any other country. We are obliged every year to borrow churches in which to preach to them. How much more decorous it would be for us to do so in a sacred building of our own where our countrymen would naturally expect to find instruction in their native language, and where they would go, as a matter of course, for the catechising of their

[1] As national churches are described in Rome, *e. g.*, " San Luigi dei Francesi, San Nicola dei Lorenesi, Sant' Antonio dei Portoghesi, San Stanislao dei Polacchi, etc."

children, and for the confession of the many who cannot speak any foreign tongue."

Then, after speaking of the restoration of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in England, the appellants point out that this "restored Church of the nation" would "attest publicly the perfect union and accord of English Catholics with the Chair of Peter, in their Orders, their belief, their Sacraments and in every rite and practice. Its existence in Rome would be a solid, enduring and ever-speaking attestation of fidelity, submission and filial reverence."

They point out that it is at this time more than a mere English work when St. Thomas is selected as a "patron and protector of the Church's choicest and most delicate privileges" which are everywhere being assailed by "the adverse powers of this world." And they say that the "proposal has received the unstinted approval and most cordial blessing of our Holy Father."

The appeal thus launched was translated into French and Italian, and Mgr. Talbot wrote personally to many whom he thought would be able to further it. The response was not what he had expected. Cardinal Wiseman headed the list of subscriptions with £150 and Mr. Thomas Weld Blundell gave a similar sum. Miss English was the largest donor of £200, and there were five persons, namely the Duchess of Norfolk, the Duchess of Leeds, Mr. Monteith and Miss Tasker, who sent £100 each, Mgr. Talbot himself contributing a similar sum. There were several sums of £50, but most of the donations were for small amounts.

The replies received to the personal letters of Mgr. Talbot were not encouraging. Some of the writers objected to having their names associated with the political portions of the appeal, thinking it inopportune to introduce this element into the question. Many excused themselves from giving any large sum, on account of the many claims to support Catholic charities in England. In their opinion the needs of their own country for churches, schools, orphanages, etc., were at the moment overwhelming, and they could do more good to religion by giving all they could spare to help these, than in building another church which was not necessary in a city of churches like Rome.

As a sample of what was evidently the general feeling

among English Catholics a few sentences from a letter written to Mgr. Talbot by Lord Petre in May 1864 may usefully be given, if only to excuse the apparent indifference in England to the project. "I fear," he writes, "that I cannot reply to your letter of the 5th in the way you expect and I should desire. I should of course with great pleasure give a small contribution to the great work you advocate, but I must tell you candidly that I cannot do more. I quite agree with you that it would be a magnificent undertaking, but, looking at it from a practical point of view, I cannot conceal from myself that it would be impossible, as I believe, for the Catholics of England to carry it out without neglecting more urgent wants at home. You know as well as I do the sad deficiency in London of church accommodation and priests for the poor; our orphanages and reformatories too—inadequate as they are to our wants—are barely kept afloat —and we have the immediate prospect of a heavy demand on our resources to provide establishments in which to receive the poor children from the workhouses, whom we have now every reason to believe that the Committee of the House of Commons will recommend shall be given to us. You will, I am sure, believe me when I say that I hesitate in opposing even such considerations as these—to a project recommended as this is. Others perhaps more competent to judge may take a different view; I can only say most sincerely that I hope I am wrong and that it may be found possible to carry out your great design without loss to our poor and unprovided for at home."

Mgr. Talbot was not discouraged, although saddened by what he conceived to be the apathy of English Catholics, and preparations were made for commencing the work. The architect was chosen in the person of Signor Vespignani, and Talbot wrote to get the prices of Aberdeen granite for the columns. At first it was intended to employ Edward Pugin to design the proposed church, and he was instructed by Mgr. Talbot to draw up plans for a building to cost some £8000. These were prepared, but before the work was put in hand other counsels had prevailed and Pugin was told by Mgr. Talbot that it was found necessary to have an Italian architect. Pugin was naturally indignant and claimed his commission of £200 for what he had done. When he was

subsequently shown the drawings of Vespignani, he wrote "an indignant protest against a monstrosity," and added, "I believe there is still sufficient good taste in England to make the whole scheme abortive if the salient points of that design were fairly put before the public. . . . I really think I ought to write a pamphlet entitled St. Thomas of Canterbury at home and abroad, I am quite sure it would be a *coup* after the photograph I saw."

Pope Pius IX himself laid the foundation stone on February 6, 1866. Meanwhile Cardinal Wiseman had died, and Archbishop Manning had succeeded at Westminster, and still the church of the English in Rome remained unfinished for want of the necessary funds. The advertisements which appeared in the English Catholic papers said: "The Holy Father has himself given the initiative to the work of building a fitting church for the use of the English nation in Rome and of the Sacred Congregation of Ecclesiastical Immunities, who annually attend in St. Thomas's Church on his Feast Day. It may also be said that the present chapel of the English College in Rome . . . is much too small for the present requirements of the College: from this fact, therefore, it is evident how unworthy this chapel is of its character of a National Church, and as a monument of the great Patron and Defender of the Church's liberties."

In a letter, quoted above, Mgr. Talbot referred to Pope Pius IX having laid the foundation stone of the Church of St. Thomas. Some account of that visit of the Holy Father to the English College, and of his address on that occasion, must not be omitted here. The *Tablet* [1] prints a full account of the ceremony, which was fixed for February 6, 1866. On the previous evening Mgr. Talbot, the Delegate Protector of the English College, assisted by the Rector, Dr. Neve and Mgr. Stonor, erected the cross in the ground already occupied by the outer walls of the church and blessed the ground.

At ten o'clock on the day itself, February 6, the Swiss Guards took up their position at the door of the College to await the arrival of the Pope, who was expected an hour later. Excellent preparations had been made for the visitors and for

[1] February 17, 1866.

the reception of the Holy Father. On the right hand of the lower half of the church the Pontifical throne with its crimson velvet canopy had been erected, and immediately opposite the altar prepared for the ceremony, which covered the hollow destined for the reception of the foundation stone forty feet below the level. "The well prepared for its descent was lighted at the bottom, and a pulley and cord of crimson silk suspended it from the crane above the altar. A beautiful silver casket containing the Charter of the church, written on parchment, and the coins of the present reign was placed on a small credence table."

The left wing of the church was devoted to the galleries for spectators and assistants. The front row was railed off for the accommodation of the royal family of Naples. The lower row was prepared for Bishops, Roman Princes and other distinguished visitors. Among the Bishops present were the Australian Bishops of Bathurst and Maitland with their Venerable Primate, Archbishop Polding. The General of the Jesuits, the Rectors of the Scottish and Irish Colleges and many others attended the ceremony.

Punctually at eleven o'clock His Holiness arrived, accompanied by his Noble Guard and the usual members of his household. An inscription had been placed over the door, and another on the wall of the church facing the throne. The first ran thus :—

PIE IX, PONTIFEX MAXIME
HIERARCHICI ORDINIS APUD ANGLOS RESTITUTOR
COLLEGII PIE AUCTOR
CATHOLICI NOMINIS IN BRITTANNIÆ INSULIS AMPLIFICATOR
TIBI COLLEGIUM N. PLAUDIT
TE PARENTEM VOCAT
TE ALTERUM GREGORIUM
SALUTAT.

The second inscription was as follows :—

IN HONOREM THOMÆ EPISCOPI CANTUARIENS MARTYRIS
PIUS IX, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS
LAPIDEM AUSPICALEM NOVÆ ÆDIS AMPLIORIS
PRIORE VETERI DISJECTA RERUM ASPERITATIBUS
SECULO SUPERIORI
SOLEMNIBUS CÆRIMONIIS POSUIT VIII, ID. FEB. A.D.
MDCCCLXVI
EO CONSILIO UT JURIS SACRI VINDICI
INSIGNE AD POSTERITATIS ERUDITIONEM MONUMENTUM
CONSTITUERETUR.

After the ceremony of blessing the stone and lowering it to its position had been completed, the Pope ascended his throne and spoke as follows :—

" England ! that country so celebrated for its commerce. England ! that land so praised for its industry. England ! whose provinces like the scattered members of a great body cover so large a space on the surface of the globe ! England ! Queen of the Seas. Ah ! how far grander and higher a title did she once enjoy, when men named her the Land of Saints —a title as superior to those which I have emumerated, as spirit is to matter, as Heaven to Earth.

" But these saints have remembered their native country, and among them, him to whom this church is about to be dedicated, the great St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, who rather than yield to the impious efforts of the great ones of the earth, feared not to sacrifice his liberty and his life.

" He lives now in the bosom of God ! Thomas, in the enjoyment of the Beatific vision, has seen that he possessed in Rome a church poor and naked, reduced to the proportions of a chapel. He has seen that these walls barely afforded accommodation to the young Levites destined to revive the faith in the Land of Saints, that they were too narrow for them to worship in, and he has exclaimed with the prophet Isaiah : *Angustus est mihi locus !* "

Then Pope Pius IX traced a picture of the religious destitution of England in the last century, and contrasted it with revival seen during the past twenty years, and expressed his conviction that the voice of St. Thomas had carried God's blessing with it and had " penetrated to the hearts of hundreds of Englishmen who will not leave imperfect this their pious work."

When the ceremony was ended the Holy Father mounted to the first floor, where a breakfast was prepared in the Library. After which the Rector of the Venerabile read an eloquent address to him, and the company were presented to him before his departure.

In 1866, Mgr. Talbot started another campaign to get funds. He again wrote numerous letters to people in England. In one of them he says : " Ever since the Holy Father laid the First Stone of our National Church of

CHURCH OF THE ENGLISH COLLEGE

[*To face p.* 264.

St. Thomas of Canterbury in Rome, the works have proceeded without intermission. We have met with great difficulties in making the foundations at a depth of fifty feet, which has involved expenses much beyond our expectations.

"I must therefore again make an appeal to the Catholics of England, in order to complete the work for which many have already sent such generous contributions. . . . If all the Catholics of England would only contribute £2000 a year for three years towards the National undertaking, the church would be finished." In the printed appeal which appeared in the English papers on August 25, 1866, Mgr. Talbot says that in the homily made by Pope Pius IX on the occasion of laying the first stone of the National Church, "His Holiness expressed his confidence that the work thus auspiciously commenced would not be left unfinished by the English nation. The church is already rising, but a further sum of £3000 is required to complete it."

Still the desired subscriptions were not received, and Mgr. Talbot wrote to England that he had practically made up his mind to abandon the attempt of completing the church. Writing from Mill Hill on October 10, 1867, Father Herbert Vaughan, as he was then, says: "The Archbishop told me two days ago that you were thinking of giving up the work of St. Thomas's Church. I heard it with sorrow. This must not be so. Why not let it extend itself over ten years, if need be, or even more, instead of over five as you had intended? It will never do to abandon it, now that you have done so much and overcome so many obstacles."

In answer to a letter of lament from Mgr. Talbot at the slackness of English Catholics to respond, Fr. Weld, S.J., explains the numerous calls upon the generosity of English Catholics at this period, to which he adds: "I think it is fair to them to say that few people out of England can understand . . . I think it is fair to them to bear in mind the facts which I have mentioned (*i. e.*, the need of schools, churches, orphanages, reformatories, etc.), as I think this will remove any idea that they are niggardly in their alms, the fact being that the almsgiving is very great in proportion to the means and to a very great extent spent upon objects of extreme necessity."

At the end of 1866, Mgr. Talbot wrote to England "on a matter of great importance." "We find," he says, "that we shall be obliged to stop the works of the Church of St. Thomas next Christmas and throw ourselves on Providence, waiting for a time when it can be completed. You know that in order to carry out the design, part of a house has had to come down which yielded about a hundred a year to the College. We have always hoped that money would have come in in order to pay off this debt. Now I feel very much disheartened, and as I know the interest you take in the College, I write to ask you to give me in writing your promise to pay as soon as you can the two thousand pounds you have promised to the College."

The work progressed very slowly for another twenty years, and it was not till 1888 that the subscription list was closed by Dr. O'Callaghan, who succeeded Dr. Neve in 1867. Even to complete the work as it is, with the apse left out, it was necessary to spend a good deal of the revenue of the College and also of the Collegio Pio, as well as to realise some of the College capital. In preparing for the apse, which was never built, the foundations of the adjoining house had been cut through, which when it was repaired in the year 1917 were found to be in a dangerous state and required the expenditure of a considerable sum of money to make the premises safe.

We need only add that the church was opened informally in 1888 and was never consecrated.

Dr. O'Callaghan ruled the English College for twenty-one years. In 1887 he was appointed to the see of Hexham and Newcastle and was consecrated on January 18, 1888, the church being used for that ceremony for the first time, having been blessed by Bishop Clifford the day before.

Mgr. Giles, formerly, as we have seen, a student at the Pio, and for many years Vice-Rector of the English College, succeeded Bishop O'Callaghan, and held his office until his death on July 28, 1913. He was succeeded by Bishop McIntyre, a distinguished student of the College, and at the time occupying the post of auxiliary to the Archbishop of Birmingham. In 1917, the Archbishop found that he

was unable to do without the services of Bishop McIntyre any longer, and petitioned for his return. To this the Holy See consented, bestowing upon the retiring Rector the title of Archbishop. His successor was nominated in the person of Mgr. Hinsley, the present Rector.

Note upon the Portrait of Aristotle referred to on pages 91–92, contributed by Mrs. Strong of the British School, Rome.

A RENAISSANCE PORTRAIT OF ARISTOTLE

ONCE THE PROPERTY OF THE ENGLISH COLLEGE

Among the treasures that vanished from the English College in the troubles brought upon it by the French Revolution was the replica of a once famous bronze portrait-plaque of Aristotle, which used to hang in the Library. All traces of the plaque were lost for nearly a century, none of the scholars, who, like Huelsen or Bernoulli, have discussed this type of "Aristotle," having apparently had any knowledge of the whereabouts of this particular example. In answer, however, to a recent inquiry set afoot by Dr. Ashby, Director of the British School, and myself, we were informed by Mr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, that the plaque was purchased some years ago by the late Max Rosenheim, and that it still formed part of his collection. By the courtesy of the present owner, Mr. Maurice Rosenheim, the plaque was deposited for my inspection at the British Museum.

It is 32 cm. high and 9 cm. broad, rounded at the top and pierced with holes both for suspension and attachment. The philosopher is represented in profile, facing right, with long hair and beard, wearing the doctor's cap with tassel and the doctor's gown and hood. Below runs the inscription in three lines—

Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ ἄριστος τῶν φιλοσόφων.

Style, workmanship, as well as design and composition, point to the latter half of the fifteenth century as the date of its production, and there is obviously no question here of a genuine portrait of the philosopher. Four other replicas exist, which are respectively in Naples, Modena, Venice and Brunswick. All five examples are obviously taken from the

same mould, and the slight variants which they exhibit in the rendering of the hair or the facial details seem due to re-touching with the chisel. The same portrait was likewise reproduced in medal form (examples at the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris) and as a gem.[1] In the process of multiplication the character of the face was considerably altered, but its descent from the portrait of the plaques is always clear. The "Aristotle" was engraved by Enea Vico in 1546 (Bartsch, xv. 338, *n.* 253),[2] and it figures as an authentic portrait of the philosopher in the earlier edition of the *Imagines et Elogia* of Fulvio Orsini, published in 1570, though Faber, who re-edited the *Imagines* in 1606, doubted its authenticity, and substituted in its place two no less apocryphal Aristotles.

The plaque, which so long passed as a genuine portrait of *il maestro di color che sanno*, though its non-antique character is self-evident to modern eyes, may possibly be discovered in time to possess iconographic interest of another kind. That it is a portrait, and not a generalised conception, seems clear alike from the individuality of the features and the precision of all the details of both head and costume. There is much, therefore, to commend the suggestion thrown out by M. Léon Kochnitzky to the effect that we have here, under the guise of Aristotle, an authentic likeness of some illustrious Greek scholar of the Renaissance—possibly of one who had championed the cause of Aristotle against that of Plato in the famous Council of Florence (1439) and afterwards. Descriptions exist of these Greeks, whose long beards and shaggy hair roused the mirth, it appears, of the younger scholars of Florence, who, however, soon learned to recognise

[1] It is also probable that the plaque served as a model in a series of fakes or forgeries, all more or less directly attributable to the notorious P. Ligorio. For instance, the marble relief, described as *tabella marmorea caput exhibens comatum et barbatum filotectum*, which Ligorio apparently palmed off as a genuine antique, found in S. Italy upon Cardinal du Bellay (Huelsen in Roem, Mitteilungen, xvi. 1901, p. 177, 26), evidently reproduced the Aristotle of the bronze plaque. Again, Ligorio seems to have used up the same type for a head in the round which was then adjusted to a headless herm, provided with the same inscription as the plaque, though with the addition of Σταγειρίτης (Huelsen, *loc. cit.* 27, *see also* Bernoulli, *Griechische Iconographie*, II., p. 88 and note, and Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Græcæ* (C. 1; Ct. xiv.), 159). Bernoulli surmises, further, that the same type was reproduced in bust of Aristotles of the Collection Mazarin, that its influence still made itself felt in the bearded head at Wilton House (Michaeli, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 674, *n.* 7) on modern terminal bust, but inscribed *Aristotles*.

[2] Dr. Ashby informs me that there is a copy (reversed) of 1553, and a still later copy, with Lafrêry's address (No. 185 of the copy described in Bernard Quaritch's *Rough List*, No. 135, p. 1195, qu. no. 1530).

them as "fully worthy of their ancestors . . . and still true to the traditions of the Lyceum and the old Academy." [1] We may form some notion of their appearance from the sitting of the council depicted by Filarete on the great bronze gates of St. Peter's. In later days people who had seen the *Graeci*, many of whom had established themselves in Italy, and were joined by others, were pointed at with envy by younger contemporaries. The Greek invasion of Italy had begun long before the Fall of Constantinople. What more natural than that an Aristotelian of the calibre, say, of Theodorus Gaza or Georgius Trapozuntius, should, out of compliment to his labours, be represented as the great philosopher himself? Or, should this appear too bold a conjecture, it may at least be surmised that an artist of the later Quattrocento took one of these learned Greeks as his model for the portrait of the illustrious philosopher whose writings had so profoundly influenced the scholasticism and the thought of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, though at the time the increased appreciation of Plato seemed to threaten his long supremacy. The assertive tone of the inscription which proclaims Aristotle as *the best* (ὁ ἄριστος) of the philosophers would suit a period when his absolute authority was being challenged.

But in the present connection the interest of the plaque lies chiefly in the long account of its history given on an old label that still remains attached to it. A transcription of this, kindly made by Mr. G. F. Hill, is given below. As the original is in a very bad condition, it is useful to check what can be made out of it by the copy, made when the label was presumably in better condition, which was discovered some years ago by Dr. Ashby on the back of a drawing of "Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," by John Alexander,[2] who, during his stay in Rome in 1715, was doubtless entertained at the English College. This copy I shall refer to as A.

HANC Aristotelis Iconem HEN^{cus} VIII Angliæ REX dum religionem litterasque coleret sunmo tamquam ab ipso Philosopho: jam tum spirante, ductam, habuit in pretio: litterarum pietatisque studio in ANGLIA collabente, eam CARD. POLUS unicum temporis sui lumen, feritatem Regis declinans,

[1] Sir John Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, II. p. 60 with reff.

[2] See Fort's *Drawings of Roman Scenes by British Artists* (1715–1850), from originals in the British Museum. London, MCMXI.

Romã detulit, quæ post aliquod annorum intervallum, felici casu, ad CARD. ALANUM ingens etiam gentis Anglicanæ ornamentum pervenit, a quo cum fato concederet, ROGERUS BAINESIUS qui [illi] tum ab epistolis erat, dono eam accepit, ac vivis exiens Collegii Anglicani de URBE, bibliothecæ egregium [am]oris fui Μνημόσυνον reliquit.

[A.D.] VI IDUS OCTOB: ANº. MDCXXIII

In l. 10 *illi* is restored from A. and seems necessary to make it clear that Baynes was Allen's secretary. In l. 14 [am]oris, already suggested by Mr. J. A. Hubert for an earlier reading, [temp]oris, is confirmed by A. The rest of the line in A. reads: *amoris sui reliquit vii° Id. Octob. Anno MDCXXIII* Μνημόσυνη.

The following translation, appended by Dr. Ashby to his publication of the inscription, may prove of interest—

"This image of Aristotle, taken as though from that great Philosopher in his lifetime, was valued by Henry VIII, King of England, while he still loved religion and letters: but when the study of letters and piety decayed in England, Cardinal Pole, the only light of his time, avoiding the cruelty of the King, brought it to Rome. After some years, by a fortunate chance it came to Cardinal Allen, himself a great ornament of the English race, from whom, at his death, Roger Baynes, who was then his secretary, received it as a gift. At his death he left it to the library of the English College in Rome, as a special remembrance of his affection. October 9, 1623." [1]

It is proposed to deal more fully with the history of the plaque in the forthcoming issue of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*. Meanwhile this note may suffice to show how great an interest attaches to an object which links up in a direct and vivid manner the names of four personages so directly connected with the fortunes of the English College as Henry VIII and his kinsman, Reginald Pole; as Cardinal William Allen and his secretary Roger Baynes.

As to how the plaque originally came into the possession of Henry VIII, it may reasonably be surmised that it was procured for him in Italy by Pole between 1519 and 1527, in those years when the future Cardinal stood high in his Royal cousin's favour,

[1] The same label is evidently the source for the notice that accompanies D'Agincourt's sketch of the plaque, Cod. Vat. 9846, f. 98 (cited by Huelsen, *op. cit.* p. 178, 28).

and when, after studying at Padua at Henry's wish and expense, he visited the rest of Italy, and came into close touch with its varied literary and artistic interests. Henry himself was a noted collector and art-lover, as the lists of works of art in his possession, preserved at the Record Office, testify. Though several plaques and plaquettes are enumerated in these lists, our "Aristotle," unfortunately, does not figure among them. But it is to the present purpose to recall that the Tudors apparently held Aristotle in high honour. If we may trust a conjecture of the late J. H. Middleton, it is Aristotle who—bearded, and with "a sword knife and gypspere hanging to his girdle," as befits the "fighting philosopher"—stands in the first niche to the left of the entrance in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.[1]

[1] *See* J. T. Micklethwaite, "Notes on the Imagery of Henry the Seventh's Chapel," in *Archeologia*, 47, II., p. 368.

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